GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY

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The Africa Policy of the German Democratic Republic

SIEGFRIED BÜTTNER

The foundation of the German Democratic Republic created the first peaceful, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist German state in history. The basis for this was laid through the liquidation of fascism and militarism and the expropriation of their main supporters, the monopoly capitalists, bankers and feudal landed aristocracy.

The character of the workers' and farmers' authority in the German Democratic Republic consists in

"the working class having power in alliance with the working peasantry and the other working strata. Its social-economic basis is socialist property of the most important means of production in the shape of public as well as co-operative property."[1]

In contrast to all German states of the past and to West Germany today, the foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic towards the African states and peoples is exclusively in the interests of the working people.[2]

Fundamentals of the Africa Policy of the G.D.R.

As Prime Minister *Otto Grotewohl* declared, the German Democratic Republic strives for the development of a policy in her relations to the African states

"... according to the principles of mutual respect, territorial integrity and sovereignty, of non-aggression, non-intervention into internal affairs, of equality and of mutual advantage, because we are convinced that such a policy is in conformity with the interests of the peoples and serves the maintenance of peace."[3]

The German Democratic Republic supports and extends its solidarity to the oppressed and dependent countries fighting for their liberation from imperialism and colonialism. The German Democratic Republic stands for peaceful coexistence. Therefore its Africa policy is determined by the struggle against West German imperialism and militarism as well as against Bonn's aggressive intentions of starting an atomic war. The foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic demonstrates to the African peoples, that only one German state, the German Democratic Republic, stands at the side of the African peoples in their fight against imperialism, colonialism and the threat of an atomic war. The

1 Thesen des Politbüros des ZK der SED zum 10. Jahrestag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik – Theses of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party on the 10th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic – "Neues Deutschland", August 25, 1959, special supplement.

2 Cp.: Peter Florin: Die internationale Stellung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik und ihre Aussenpolitik – The International Position of the G.D.R. and its Foreign Policy, "Einheit", No. 7/1958.

3 Quotation from the speech by Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl before the People's Chamber of the G.D.R., January 18, 1956, "Dokumente zur Außenpolitik der Regierung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik" – Documents on the Foreign Policy of the Government of the G.D.R., published by Rütten & Loening, Berlin 1956, vol. II, p. 438.

Africa policy pursued by the German Democratic Republic helps the African peoples to understand, that the policy of neo-colonialism and collective colonialism emanating from West Germany is incompatible with the interests of the German and the African peoples. This policy unmasks West German alleged "anti-colonialism" as well as the pretences of neo-colonialism, using catchwords like "development aid", "partnership" and "Common Market Association".

The Significance of Africa's Liberation

The struggle of the peoples of Africa for their national independence forms an important part of the historical process of the liberation of mankind from the shackles of imperialism and colonialism, from national and social oppression. As Soviet Premier *N. S. Khrushchov* declared

"... the complete elimination of the infamous colonial system as one of the most acute and most topical problems is already on the order of the day."[4]

The Great Socialist October Revolution of 1917 was the prelude to the crisis of the imperialist colonial system and, after the First World War, decisively contributed towards the ability of Afghanistan, Mongolia and Turkey to preserve their political independence.

The constantly increasing strength of the socialist camp after the Second World War, the powerful development of the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples of Asia and Africa as well as the development of the general crisis of capitalism forced imperialism to retreat from 28 colonies and semi-colonies (21 in Asia and 7 in Africa) measuring 25 million square kilometres and inhabited by more than 1,300 million people.[5] This process became particularly notable at the end of 1960 when the number of independent African states had increased to 27.[6]

With Asia lost for the imperialist camp, the emphasis of the colonial and national fight for liberation shifted to Africa. The growing influence of the strength of the Soviet Union and of the whole socialist camp accelerated this development. The victory of the Chinese people against U.S.-imperialism, of the Korean and Vietnamese peoples against American and French imperialism plus the bankruptcy of the Suez campaign also had a mobilizing effect on the fast growth of the liberation movement among the African peoples.

The participation of hundreds of thousands of Africans in the last World War, mostly from the French and British colonies, decisively contributed towards the growth of the political consciousness of the Africans.[7]

The big international democratic organisations such as the World Trade Union Federation, the World Federation of the Democratic Youth and the International Women's Federation, contributed considerably towards the success of the national liberation movement of the African peoples.

In many African regions imperialism robbed the African peoples of the land, destroying their traditional means of life, in order to turn the African working people into cheap labour for mines, farms and other enterprises, thus gaining possession of Africa's abundance of natural resources. But in spite of all this the productive forces began to develop, particularly after the Second World War, though in a manner that was onesided detrimental to African society and painful for the African peoples.[8]

African development was also influenced by the imperialist policy of *"divide et impera"*, indirect rule by the colonial powers through the African tribal chiefs, the wilful delaying of economic development, particularly of industry, in favour of single-crop farming in the majority of the African countries, the endeavours of the U.S.A. and of West Germany to get a foothold in the formerly dependent countries, as well as the crection of the colour-bar and handicaps based on racial discrimination.

The struggle against imperialism and colonialism has seized the whole of Africa. At present the following centres of the African liberation movement are coming into prominence:

North Africa	(Algeria)
West Africa	(Guinea/Ghana)
Central Africa	(Congo/Rhodesia/Nyasaland)
East Africa	(Kenya/Uganda)
South Africa	(Republic of South Africa).

4 N. S. Khrushchov: Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the 20th Party Conference, German Edition Berlin 1956, pp. 24 et seq.

5 Cp.: W. L. Tjagunenko, Krieg und Kolonien – War and Colonies – Berlin 1960, pp. 18 et seq.

6 At the end of 1960 the following independent states existed in Africa:

Empire of Ethiopia	Independent since approx. 2.000 b.c.
Republic of Liberia	26th July 1847
South Africa	31st May 1910
Egypt (today United Arab Republic)	26th July 1922
United Kingdom of Libya	24th December 1951
Republic of Sudan	1st January 1956
Kingdom of Morocco	3rd March 1956
Republic of Tunesia	20th March 1956
Ghana (today Republic of Ghana)	6th March 1957
Republic of Guinea	2nd October 1958
Republik of Cameroun	1st January 1960
Republic of Togo	27th April 1960
Mali	20th June 1960
Malagasy Republic	25th June 1960
Republic of Congo	30th June 1960
former Italian Somaliland, former Brit. Somaliland (today Rep. Somalia)	1st July 1960
Republic of Dahomey	1st August 1960
Republic of Niger	3rd August 1960
Republic of Upper Volta	5th August 1960
Republic Ivory Coast	8th August 1960
Republic of Chad	11th August 1960
Central African Republic	13th August 1960
Republic of Congo (form. French Congo)	15th August 1960
Republic Gabon	17th August 1960
Nigeria	1st October 1960
Islamic Republic of Mauretania	27th November 1960 (as of 20th August 1960)

7 "Politique Étrangère", No. 1/1959, p. 84.

8 A. J. Schpirt: "Weißer Mann – wofür?" – "White man – For what?" Afrika im 2. Weltkrieg – Africa in the Second World War – published by Rütten & Loening. Berlin 1960, pp. 77 et seq.

The national liberation movement in Africa has a democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-colonial character. Its aim is not socialism. Its struggle is against colonialism and for political independence.

In many African regions representatives of African capitalism support this anti-imperialist liberation movement. Nevertheless the numerically weak working class and the great masses of pauperized peasants support the national liberation movement. The unity of all democratic forces in the liberation movement is of decisive significance as a prerequisite for victory over imperialism and colonialism. The aspirations of the African peoples for unity of the national liberation movements is evidenced by the widespread trend to Pan-Africanism – the ideology of the liberation of the African peoples from colonialism. This was expressed by the First All African Peoples' Conference in Accra in 1958 and by the Second All African Peoples' Conference in Tunisia in 1960.[10]

The preparations for an All African Trade Union Federation and the moves – on an official level – to unite the whole of the continent through the formation of the United States of Africa to be gradually achieved by starting from a Guinea/Ghana/Liberia union and proceeding to a West African federation, may also be included in these efforts.

This striving for unity and joint struggle against imperialism does not mean that no differences exist between the African classes. During the present stage of the struggle for the elimination of colonial rule, internal class-contradictions crop up but they are temporarily driven into the background.

Efforts to Keep Africa in Chains

Faced by these developments, the imperialists are doing all in their power to keep the "Black Continent" as the largest centre of direct colonial exploitation. Shaken by the rise of the liberation movement, they are trying to maintain colonial exploitation by means of financial and political concessions, through "reforms of the constitution" and alleged self-administration, "cooperation and partnership" with native bourgeoisie, and above all the trading capitalists.

Such slogans as "Preserve Africa for the West!" aim at extending political and economic colonial rule, at keeping Africa as a source of agrarian raw materials, a huge market for West Europe and the U.S.A. and at preserving the Nato

9 Cp.: A. Iskenderov, "Der kämpfende Kontinent" in "Probleme des Friedens und des Sozialismus" – "The Fighting Continent" in "Problems of Peace and of Socialism", No. 1 (17)/1960 p. 46.

10 W. Gawrilyuk: Der Wind der Freiheit weht über Afrika – The Storm of Freedom Sweeps Across Africa, "Sovietskaya Rossiya", Jan. 26, 1960; "Neues Deutschland", Jan. 24, and Febr. 1, 1960; L. Aulbach: Asiatisch-Afrikanische Einheitsfront gegen den Imperialismus – Afro-Asian United Front Against Imperialism, "Einheit", No. 3/1958, pp. 416 – 245; "Dokumente der Afro-Asiatischen Solidaritätskonferenz" – Documents of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference – "New Times", Moscow, No. 3/1958; G. Zinke: Die Afro-Asiatische Solidaritätskonferenz – ein neuer Meilenstein im Kampf gegen Imperialismus und Kolonialismus, "Aus der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung" – Documents of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference – a new Milestone in the Struggle against Imperialism and Colonialism, "From the International Working Class movement" No. 10/1960; "New Times", Moscow, No. 49/1958 and No. 51/1958.

military base system in Africa. U.S. Under State Secretary for Africa, *Joseph C. Satterthwaite,* made the following statement on the aims of U.S. imperialism in this continent:

"Soon the United States will be able to reimburse themselves for their relative failure of our policy in Asia and in the Middle East. Africa offers us a chance of revenge."[11]

The press in the other imperialist countries demands that in the struggle for world domination Africa must be kept for the West.

" . . . He who has Africa at his side, will be able to rule the world. A big race has been started towards this finish. The West must not be allowed to suffer yet another defeat."[12]

Everyday similar declarations are made by Bonn and published in the West German press. Owing to the loss of numerous former colonies and other sources of raw materials abroad and in view of the limited, and in many instances scanty, deposits of raw materials in their own countries, the U.S.A. and the other Nato Powers are interested in the undisturbed exploitation of Africa's unlimited industrial and agricultural raw materials.[13] Chromium, cobalt, manganese ore, graphite from Africa provide far more than 25 per cent of U.S. consumption. More than 90 per cent of Congo's uranium output goes to the U.S.A. and to Great Britain.[14] In this connection "New York Times" wrote in 1953 :

"The U.S.A. depend on this continent as regards strategic key materials. If robbed of their trade with Africa, France and Great Britain would go bankrupt. Without Africa, the Western world could not conduct a cold war for any unlimited period and would lose a hot one."[15]

Apart from her raw material deposits, Africa is a huge market which offers a rate of profit, hardly to be achieved elsewhere.

According to official statistics of the "Bulletin of the Central Bank of Belgian Congo", 306 monopoly enterprises made profits amounting to about 11 billion Belgian Francs during the first 10 months of 1957. One per cent of "non-native population" got 46 per cent of the national income of Belgian Congo. In 1956 the average yearly income of a Congolese worker amounted to 2,090 Francs while

11 A. Iskenderov ibid. p. 45, Also cp.: J. C. Satterthwaite: The Role of the United States in Africa – Our Interests and Operations, "The Department of State Bulletin", No. 1041/1959; The same: The Foreign Policy of the United States and Africa, ibid. No. 1054/1959.

12 "Combat", Paris, Jan. 23 and 24, 1960.

13 "Who needs Eurafrica?", Moscow 1957, p. 7 (Russian) gives the following figures for Africa in 1957 in the framework of a list of raw material deposits of the capitalist world:

Diamonds	98 per cent	Phosphates	32 per cent
Cobalt	81 per cent	Copper	27 per cent
Gold	59 per cent	Coconut Kernels	75 per cent
Antimony	42 per cent	Cocoa Beans	61 per cent
Chromium Ore	40 per cent	Palm Oil	64 per cent
Manganese Ore	36 per cent	Sisal	58 per cent

14 V. Gogoslowski: Washington's Grab at Afrika, in "New Times", Moscow, No. 21/1959, pp. 14 et seq.

15 "The New York Times", Febr. 8, 1953.

Europeans living in the country earned an average of 131,120 Francs a year. This is a ratio of 1 : 64. (100 Belgian Francs = 2 U.S. Dollars.)

In Northern Rhodesian copper mines the African miners are only paid a 20th part of the wage of a European miner working in the same mine.

This cruel exploitation has had disastrous effects on the living conditions of the African working people. In South Africa the average age of a non-white is 36.4 years, compared with 66 years for a European in the same region. Among the 6 million Africans living in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique there is only one university graduate. In the Republic of Chad there is one doctor to 60,000 Africans. In Ruanda Urundi there are only 4 dentists to 5 million Africans. In Kenya 3,000 European settlers have possession of 17,300,000 acres of the best land, while 5.5 million Africans own not more than 55,944,000 acres of barren land.[16]

In the "global strategy" of the United States, Africa has been assigned a special role. Leading politicians and military experts of the Nato states believe this continent to have a favourable geographic position for the realisation of Nato's military plans. As one French general wrote in the military magazine "Revue de Défence Nationale":

"Africa allows for all kinds of maneouvres against Europe as well as against Asia. Its vast expanse guarantees protection against enemy surprise, at the same time permitting the preparation of most devastating operations in strictest secrecy ... If Western Europe stands a chance in a world conflict, this chance lies in Africa."[17]

U.S. General *Hugh J. Knerr* shares this view, declaring that the African continent, "as a military strongpoint in the atomic age is superior to any other continent".[18]

Since the foundation of Nato, 19 air and 8 naval bases have been set up in Africa.[19] That failed to satisfy the Nato powers. Besides the dirty colonial war against the Algerian people and the testing of rockets and A-bombs, plans already exist at Nato Headquarters for the incorporation of the whole of Africa into "South Atlantic Pact" (Sato) as counterpart of the South East Asia Treaty Organization (Seato).[20]

How dubious the imperialists themselves are about their ability to maintain their colonial rule by such methods is shown by different plans for the mutual exploitation of Africa. The "Eurafrica-Pact", which aims at creating a super-trust

16 12 Belgian Francs / 1 D-Mark. All figures according to: "Démocratie Nouvelle", June 1958, p. 26 (346); I. Zaharia, Secretary of the W.F.T.U.: Der Beitrag der Gewerkschaften zum Kampf gegen den Kolonialismus, "Aus der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung" – The Contribution of the Trade Unions to the Struggle Against Colonialism, "From the International Working Class Movement" – No. 12 (96) 1960, p. 10;
A. Yata: Afrika zerbricht die Ketten der Unterdrückung, "Aus der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung" – Africa Breaks the Chains of Oppression, "From the International Working Class Movement" No. 12, 1957 p. 26; L. Gukassyan / M. Kogav: The Peoples of Africa are Fighting for Freedom and National Independence, "Pravda", June 3, 1960.

17 "Revue de défénse nationale", December 1949, p. 604, quoted according to "Who needs Eurafrica?" ibid.

18 "Wehrkunde", No. 9/1954.

of the Common Market powers to exploit Africa and the national liberation movements is an expression of this collective colonialism.

V. I. Lenin said of colonialism that the demand for the liberation of the colonies was nothing but recognition of the self-determination of the nations.[21] In common with all socialist states the German Democratic Republic unhesitatingly recognised the right of the Africans to self-determination.

The G.D.R. for Self-Determination of the African Peoples

When in the autumn of 1958 France and the other imperialist states attempted to isolate the young Republic of Guinea, the German Democratic Republic immediately gave recognition and concluded with Guinea a trade agreement, a cultural treaty as well as signing minutes on the exchange of trade representations with consular rights. West Germany did nothing to support Guinea. Guinea's treaties with the German Democratic Republic were the first international treaties ever concluded by this republic.[22]

The German Democratic Republic also pursued this policy of recognition of the right of self-determination in regard to the independent young African states which were founded later, including the republics of Cameroun, Congo, Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Chad, the Central African Republic, the Repu-

19 Nato air bases in Africa:
6 in Morocco (Sidi Slimane, Nouaceur, Ben Guério, Louis Gentil, Boulhaut, Rabat)
4 in Lybia (Wheelus Field, Benghasi, El Adam, Derna)
2 in Congo (Kitona, Kamina)
2 in Kenya (Kismu, Nairobi)
2 in Tanganyika (Daressalam, Tabura)
1 in Ethiopia (Massana)
1 in Uganda (Entebbe)
1 in Liberia (Morris Field).
Nato navy bases in Africa:
2 in Morocco (Casablanca, Agadir)
1 in Algeria (Algiers)
1 in Tunesia (Bizerta)
1 in Kenya (Mombassa)
1 in Tanganyika (Daressalam)
1 in Congo (Banana)
1 in the South African Union (Simonstown)
Quoted according to: "Bonn – Feind der Völker Asiens und Afrikas" – "Bonn – The Enemy of the Peoples of Asia and Africa (a documentation of the colonial policy pursued by the Adenauer Government)", Ausschuss für Deutsche Einheit – Committee for German Unity, Berlin, 1960, p. 23 et seq; A. J. Schpirt: Africa's Role in the Plans of Nato, "Sovremenny Vostok", Moscow, No. 3/1959, pp. 25 et seq.; V. Sidenko: Congo in the Field of Vision, "New Times", Moscow, No. 29/1960, P. 19.

20 "Revue Militaire Générale", Paris, November 1959.

21 V. I. Lenin: Works, vol. 22. p. 140 (Russian), quoted according to K. Ivanov, On the Social Democratic Character of Modern Colonialism, "Meszhdunarodnaya Shisn", Moscow. No. 2/1960.

22 Zwischen Bandung und Conakry – Between Bandung and Conakry, a documentation on the Foreign Policy of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin 1959, pp. 50 et seq.

blic of Congo (formerly French Congo) and the Republic of Gabon.[23] Immediate recognition by the German Democratic Republic and other socialist states gave effective political and moral support to the fight of the young African states for the protection of their newly-won independence and against imperialist intrigues.

Whenever imperialist ventures forced African states to defend their sovereignty, the German Democratic Republic and all socialist states fully supported the African states and peoples, giving them unconditional political and moral aid. In this, the German Democratic Republic starts from the Marxist-Leninist principle: "A nation cannot get liberated while suppressing other nations."[24]

Of numerous instances only a few of the more important need be cited. In the summer of 1956, when the imperialist states attempted to negate the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company by pressure, open intervention and armed aggression, the German Democratic Republic and all socialist states along with other peaceloving people openly took sides with the Egyptian people. On behalf of the G.D.R. government, Prime Minister *Otto Grotewohl,* declared before the People's Chamber:

The aggression against Egypt unmasks the the whole brutality of imperialist colonial policy. It shows clearly that there cannot be any equality between the colonial powers and the countries marching towards national independence. Imperialist colonial policy is and remains a policy of oppression, of naked force, of the fire and the sword . . .

The government of the German Democratic Republic is opposed to the measures of the governments of Great Britain and France and assures the government and population of Egypt its sympathy for their fight for national independence and self-determination."[25]

The vigorous anti-colonial and anti-imperialistic attitude of the German Democratic Republic was also demonstrated in 1957, when the Republic of Syria was threatened by Turkey and the other imperialist states, and by the immediate recognition of the Republic of Iraq which was founded after the monarchist regime had been overthrown.

In July 1958, when the U.S.A. and Great Britain started their aggression against the Jordan and Lebanon, Prime Minister *Otto Grotewohl* sent a telegram to the U.N.O. Secretary-General on July 17, 1958 demanding effective measures against this aggression. The Bonn government supported this aggression by making

23 "Aussenpolitische Korrespondenz" – Foreign Political Correspondence, Berlin, No. 2/1960; "Neues Deutschland", April 30, June 21, June 26, 1960; "Aussenpolitische Korrespondenz", Berlin, No. 23/1960 and No. 21/1960; "Neues Deutschland", August 2, 4, 5, 11, 14, 16, 1960.

24 Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin: Zur deutschen Geschichte, vol. II, first half volume, Berlin 1954, p. 162.

25 Government Declaration of the German Democratic Republic before the People's Chamber, "Neues Deutschland", November 3, 1959; "Die DDR und der Kampf der arabischen Völker für Freiheit" – The G.D.R. and the Fight of the Arab Peoples for Freedom (Sammlung von Erklärungen der DDR zur Suezfrage – Collection of Declarations of the G.D.R. on the Suez issue), Berlin 1957.

available West German territory as supply base and by putting at the disposal of the aggressors jet fighters of the Bonn Bundeswehr for use as escorts for Nato transport planes to the Jordan and Lebanon. The Government of the German Democratic Republic issued a declaration on July 1958. It is said that the G.D.R.

"protests most energetically against the Anglo-American aggression in the Near East and demands the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops. The G.D.R. government accuses the West German government, of not having taken any measures which might have stopped this aggression and protests most energetically against the participation of the West German government in this aggression which threatens world peace."[26]

Apart from the official declarations of the Government of the G.D.R., the peoples of the Near East have not forgotten the material and moral aid, such as solidarity actions of the G.D.R. Free German Trade Union Federation as well as the delegation of pilots for the Suez Canal. The Secretary-General of the Commercial Trade Union of the All Arabian Trade Union Federation, *Alfra Mohammed Arafa* declared:

"The United Arab Republic was able to preserve her independence also owing to your support. The events in the Jordan and the Lebanon teach us that whoever tramples upon the interests of the Arab world will feel the power of all peaceloving peoples."[27]

In the case of the aggression of the Belgian colonialists against the newly independent Congo Republic, the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist states proved reliable friends of the Congolese people. In several documents the German Democratic Republic strongly condemned this brutal invasion and stigmatized it as an attempted blow against the whole anti-imperialist liberation movement. It denounced the manipulations and direct intervention of the Nato Powers and above all of West Germany being on the side of imperialist aggression.

The German Democratic Republic also assured the Congo Republic of her determination to support the struggle of the Congolese people against imperialist intervention and of her willingness to help in the construction of the Congolese economy and state apparatus.

The declaration of the Government of the German Democratic Republic went on:

"The Government of the G.D.R. is ready to make her contribution towards healing of the wounds inflicted upon the Congolese people by their aggressors. The G.D.R. Government declares its special readiness to grant every possible help to the Congolese Republic in the construction of a public administration of its own and of a national economy through – among other things – the delegation of experts in these fields and the additional training of Congolese subjects."[28]

26 "Neues Deutschland", July 19, 1958.

27 "Die DDR und das Ausland" – The G.D.R. and Foreign Countries, Nationalrat der Nationalen Front des Demokratischen Deutschland, Berlin 1958, p. 8.

28 "Regierungserklärung zur belgischen Aggression" – Government Declaration on Belgian Aggression, "Neues Deutschland", July 23, 1960; "Das falsche Spiel muß aufhören" – The Phoney Game must be Stopped, "Neues Deutschland", August 10, 1960.

The G.D.R. is greatly interested in the development of normal relations with the independent African states. Such relations, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, would naturally lead to a further consolidation of the German Democratic Republic internationally and contribute toward the ultimate solution of important international problems. These include the elimination of the remnants of the Second World War, the peaceful solution of the West Berlin problem and the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states. This is in the interest of peace and the relaxation of international tension.

Diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic are in the interests of the independent African states themselves, since imperialism and militarism in West Germany greatly threaten the independent African peoples as well as being a danger for the peoples of Europe.

These mutual interests enabled the German Democratic Republic, in a relatively short time, to set up official representations in the United Arab Republic, the Republic of Sudan, the Republic of Ghana, and the Republic of Guinea.

In spite of attempts of imperialist intervention, emanating particularly from West Germany, the clearly anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist policy pursued by the German Democratic Republic will lead to the establishment of further official representations and the normalization of relations between the German Democratic Republic and the independent African states.

Trade and Economic Relations

The steadily growing trade and economic relations based on trading and financial agreements form an important component in the foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic toward the independent African states. Initial agreements on the basis of equality and of mutual advantage have been concluded between the United Arab Republic and the Republics of Sudan, Tunisia, Guinea and the Kingdom of Morocco and other countries.

The foreign trade turnover between the German Democratic Republic and the United Arab Republic increased by 19 per cent in 1958 compared with 1957. The corresponding figure for Sudan was 72 per cent.

Trade turnover between the G.D.R. and the Republic of Guinea in 1959 amounted to 14.8 million D-Mark, sales amounting to 7.6 million D-Mark and deliveries to 7.2 million D-Mark. The G.D.R. pledged herself not to take in payment any free currency and has acted accordingly. When Guinea was faced with the possible loss of her market for bananas in Western Europe (the Nato Powers intended to put Guinea into an awkward economic position by refusing to purchase bananas) the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist states decided to fill the gap by signing adequate contracts. This helped Guinea to consolidate her independence and to resist imperialist intrigues.

In 1959 the trade turnover of West Germany with Guinea amounted to slightly over 6 million D-Mark.

About 4 million D-Mark worth of goods were exported to Guinea and about 2 million D-Mark worth of goods imported from that country. Guinea was forced to pay about 2 million D-Mark in free currency to West Germany as a result. This comparison between the commercial policy of both German states towards Africa, shows that only the German Democratic Republic is interested in balanced trade, with neither of the partners getting into debt. To support the young African states in the construction of their national economy, the German Democratic Republic accepts as a matter of principle supplies of the national produce in question in exchange for its deliveries and is also agreeable to accepting payments in their national currency.

Trading with the G.D.R. also helps the African states to eliminate the monopoly position of the imperialist colonial powers. Thus a basis is created for the G.D.R. and the socialist states to help the African states to overcome colonial single crop farming and to assist them in industrialisation as well as in the general development of their national economy.[30]

The very successful industrial exhibition of the German Democratic Republic which was held in Accra in March 1960, showed that the Republic of Ghana needed goods and equipment particularly from the German Democratic Republic for economic construction.

Another important aspect of economic cooperation with the individual African states consists in the disinterested technical and scientific aid of the German Democratic Republic in different economic fields and free from political conditions. Stress is put on the development of economic relations subject to licences, cooperation and the construction of assembly shops in the independent African states. The German Democratic Republic will, for instance, aim at building industrial enterprises in the independent African states, full utilization of the capacities of which will be secured by the G.D.R. buying a fixed portion of the output. This will be a contribution towards the consolidation of the economies of the independent African states.[31]

In contrast, imperialist "development aid", including the "development aid" granted by West Germany, is nothing but a planned programme of influencing the African states to delay their industrialisation by new means and methods and

29 W. Spröte: Die wirtschaftliche Stellung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik im Weltmaßstab, – The Economic Position of the German Democratic Republic on the World's Level; "Deutsche Außenpolitik", special issue III/1959, p. 80.

30 "Thus Senegal and Gambia were 'specialized' in the export of peanuts, the Ivory Coast for the export of cocoa, Nigeria for the export of tin ore and coconut products, Uganda for the export of cotton (40,8 per cent of the total exports) and coffee (47 per cent according to 1955 data), Belgian Congo for the export of ores and metals (66 per cent of the total exports; including 40 per cent copper, according to 1956 data). At present the economies of the majority of the African countries depend on the production of two or three kinds of exports goods, in some cases even of one single kind." (K. Ivanov, see above).

31 H. Rau: Vor der Aussenhandelskonferenz, "Die Wirtschaft" June 23, 1960; Thesen zur Aussenhandelskonferenz, "Der Aussenhandel", special edition, May 1960.

to preserve them as raw material appendages and markets for imperialist monopoly.[32]

Numerous specialists, engineers, fitters etc. of the nationally-owned industry of the G.D.R. are working in African states. They are putting up complete plants, such as the National Printing Works and a big broadcasting house in Conakry (Republic of Guinea), and training African workers during the course of these installations to become experts and to service the new modern machines and installations themselves.

At present a few hundred workers from all parts of Africa are also undergoing qualification courses in G.D.R. factories, trade schools, academies, and universities to acquire the skills needed for construction in their countries.[33]

In response to demands of a number of African countries numerous delegations of scientists and experts from the German Democratic Republic have been giving aid in a number of fields (for instance plant protection and anti-vermin preparation, vegetable gardening, agriculture, and economic planning).

Development of Cultural Relations

Relations with the African states in the cultural sphere are also growing stronger. In this field the policy of the German Democratic Republic aims at acquainting the African peoples with the achievements of the socialist cultural revolution in the German Democratic Republic and helping them to reestablish and develop the rich natural cultures which had been falsified and suppressed by the imperialists and colonialists.

Furthermore, the German Democratic Republic is faced with the task of unmasking the West German imperialist "cultural activities abroad", which aim at the political and economic expansion of German imperialism and militarism and the propagation of anti-Communist and neo-colonialist theories among the African peoples.[34]

[32] The meaning of imperialist "economic aid" was indicated by Dr. Johannes Zahn, co-owner of the Duesseldorf banking institute of C. G. Trinkhaus, in a spreech at Frankfurt-on-Main before the 10th annual meeting of the "Wirtschaftspolitische Gesellschaft von 1947" at the end of 1960. Dr. Zahn appealed to German imperialism to grant development aid only to countries "the partners of which guarantee cooperation in the spirit of the free world . . . When implementing economic aid measures, the experience of former colonial countries ought to be evaluated . . . The countries (the Western countries – the author) ought to examine thoroughly whether aid measures should not be limited to such countries where the structure of the economies to be constructed is in accord with Western conceptions of world wide cooperation and free economy so that there can be no danger of a development in a wrong direction, not to mention a negative reaction against the West . . ." ("Industriekurier", Duesseldorf, January 30, 1960).

[33] R. Engel: Zweimal deutsche kulturelle Aussenpolitik – Two different German Cultural Foreign Policies – "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" No. 5/1958.

[34] A declaration of the notorious Nazi banker, Hjalmar Schacht, is illustrative of imperialist "cultural cooperation". He is of the opinion, that West Germany "should reestablish the German colonial empire in a new shape and, since economic expansion alone will not achieve this aim, it has to be complemented by cultural and political institutions" ("La Tribune des Nations" quoted according to "Der Aussenhandel", Berlin No. 7/1955).

There are numerous examples of cultural relations between the German Democratic Republic and the African states. In February 1959, 46 Egyptian teachers in the fields of industry and trade were admitted to enterprises and institutions of the German Democratic Republic for a term of one year. Exhibitions of the works of the sculptor and National prize winner Professor *Cremer* in Cairo and Alexandria were much appreciated. A group of G.D.R. scientists under the lead of Professor Dr. *Hintze* gave a striking example of cultural cooperation in the course of the exploration of the ancient cultural treasures and the history of the Sudanese peoples. G.D.R. scientists are cooperating with scientists of Guinea in publishing scientific literature on the history of the West African peoples.

Steadily growing sporting relations may also be mentioned, including the successful performance of G.D.R. cyclists in the United Arab Republic and in Tunisia.

There is not the slightest doubt about the further consolidation of the official relations of the German Democratic Republic with the African states in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

The G.D.R. Supports the Liberation Movement

The German Democratic Republic regards the support of the national liberation movement of the African peoples in the still colonial and dependent parts of Africa an important international commitment. Today these peoples who had been a reserve and hinterland of the imperialist camp have become a powerful factor in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for freedom and national independence. This struggle makes the African peoples natural allies of the socialist camp and of all peaceloving forces in the world in defence of world peace. In order to accelerate the ultimate disintegration of the colonial system, the German Democratic Republic will give every possible assistance to the liberation movement of the African peoples.[35]

In the declaration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the G.D.R. dated February 27, 1959, the attitude of the German Democratic Republic towards the anti-colonial liberation movement of the African peoples was defined as follows:

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic holds the view, that the governments of the imperialist states must grant national independence and freedom to the African peoples.

The era of colonialism is irrevocably nearing its end and the movement of the peoples of Africa for liberation from the imperialist yoke can no longer be halted . . .

The Government of the German Democratic Republic assures the African peoples and states, that it will continue to do all in its power to support the just fight for national independence and freedom in Africa."[36]

35 Resolution of the 5th Party Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on the struggle for peace, for the victory of socialism, for the national rebirth of Germany as a peaceloving democratic state, Dietz Publishing House, Berlin 1958, p. 11.

36 "Neues Deutschland", March 3, 1959.

Therefore the German Democratic Republic strongly condemns the colonial war waged by French imperialism against the Algerian people and supports their fight for national liberation, for the establishment of their right of self-determination and independence. The German Democratic Republic has issued repeated declarations, protesting against the war in Algeria demanding the withdrawal and repatriation of German legionaires stationed in that country and supporting the just fight of the Algerian people by considerable material solidarity actions of the German Red Cross and of the Free German Trade Union Federation. At the same time, the G.D.R. has condemned the material and other aid given by the Bonn government to French imperialism in support of its colonial war against the Algerian people.

In its declaration of July 19, 1957, the G.D.R. government appealed to the members of the Foreign Legion immediately to stop the war against the Algerian people and to return home.

On November 13, 1958, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs condemned the measures taken by the Bonn government for the suppression of the Algerian people and announced that all Algerian patriots who were prevented from continuing to work and study in Western Germany would be given work and facilities to study in the German Democratic Republic until they were able to return to their country. Today more than 300 Algerian students and experts are working and studying in the German Democratic Republic.

On May 6, 1958, the German Democratic Republic again protested against the support extended by the Bonn government to the French imperialists.

West Germany paid more than 2 billion D-Mark to France in support of the war against Algeria and another considerable amount for the occupation expenses of French troops which have long been away fighting against the Algerian people.[37]

There have been numerous solidarity actions of G.D.R. mass organisations and of other G.D.R. institutions for the Algerian people, involving some 2 million D-Mark, and wounded Algerian freedom fighters have been admitted to G.D.R. hospitals and sanatoriums.

Immediately after the release of the news about the explosion of the French A-bomb in the Sahara desert on February 13, 1960, which was done with the aid of West Germany, a speaker of the G.D.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared:

"The government and the population of the German Democratic Republic follow with great sympathy the protest movement of the African peoples against atomic bomb tests and protest jointly with them against the abuse of African soil . . .

We protest most energetically against West German support of the A-bomb tests being injurious to peace."[38]

The Bonn government made attempts to deny its complicity in the Sahara tests of French atomic bombs and rocket weapons. But the facts prove that West

37 "Adenauer Regierung unterstützt den schmutzigen Krieg gegen das algerische Volk" – The Adenauer Government Supports the Dirty War Against the Algerian people. A documentation by the Committee for German Unity, Berlin 1959.

38 "Bonn – Feind der Völker Asiens und Afrikas" – Bonn – the enemy of the African and Asian peoples – ibid. p. 41.

Germany not only finances the colonial war against Algeria and participates in French A-bomb production but even contemplates military intervention in Algeria.[39]

West German concerns like DEGUSSA and AEG are starting the production of H-bombs in cooperation with their French partners.[40]

The African peoples are well aware of this danger emanating from West Germany and are fighting against these criminal plots of West German imperialism, together with the German Democratic Republic and all peaceloving peoples.

39 "Adenauer Government Supports the Dirty War Against the Algerian people", ibid: "Der Spiegel", Hamburg, September 2, 1959.
"... Though the Federal Republic has committed herself not to produce A.B.C. weapons, she may no doubt design them on the drawing-board and participate in the production of, let us say, a 'European nuclear bomb' (War Minister Strauss in April 1957, "Fränkische Tagespost", Nuremberg, April 15, 1959); "Daily Herald", London, August 11, and September 15, 1959; "Freie Presse", Bielefeld, August 14, 1959; "Bonner Außenpolitische Korrespondenz", February 15, 1960; "Deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschaftszeitung", February 19, 1960.

40 "Neues Deutschland", February 19, 1960.

41 Note of the German Democratic Republic to the African states participating in the Monrovia Conference from August 4 to August 8, 1959, "Außenpolitische Korrespondenz", Berlin No. 30, September 8, 1959.

Apart from supporting the Algerian people, the German Democratic Republic is also assisting other national liberation movements in Uganda, Kenya, Rhodesia and Nyasaland and showing her solidarity in practical ways.[41]

On June 16, 1960, Prime Minister *Otto Grotewohl* sent an address to the 2nd Conference of Independent African States held in Addis Ababa once more stressing the solidarity of the German Democratic Republic with the African peoples and their struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism and for the preservation and consolidation of peace. In this address *Otto Grotewohl* emphasized that:

"the attempts made to preserve the old colonial rule and the efforts to encroach on the independence of the African peoples through colonialist methods", would be unsuccessful.[42]

In practice the support given and the solidarity shown to the national liberation movements of the African peoples are by the mass organisations of the German Democratic Republic; the most prominent ones being: The Free German Trade Union Federation, the National Council of the National Front of Democratic Germany, the Free German Youth, the German Gymnastics- and Sports association, the Association of German Cooperatives, the Farmers' Mutual Aid Society, the Democratic Union of German Women and the German Red Cross. Relations between the Free German Trade Union Federation and the African Trade Union Organisation have greatly expanded recently.

The 5th Congress of the Free German Trade Union Federation between October 25th and October 31st 1959, was attended by trade union leaders from Senegal, Algeria, Morocco, Nigeria, Guinea, Ghana, the Sudan, Cameroun, the United Arab Republic, Congo, the Ivory Coast and Uganda.

Their addresses expressed the appreciation of the African working population for the German Democratic Republic as a friend and ally in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and against the atomic threat.[43]

The experience of a delegation of the Free German Trade Union Federation headed by its chairman, *Herbert Warnke*, in the course of a tour through Guinea and Ghana showed that the African trade unions not only expect support in the political fight for liberation but also in the struggle for economic independence of their countries, for the establishment of the unity of the African trade union movement and, last but not least, for the training of cadres.

The support given by the other above mentioned mass organisations in the German Democratic Republic runs along the same line as the aid extended by the Free German Trade Union Federation. The active support for the liberation movement of the African peoples through G.D.R. mass organisations has greatly contributed towards the increase of the international reputation of the G.D.R. in Africa. Thus the secretary-general of the trade union organisation of the workers of Black Africa (UGTAN), *Diallo Seydou*, said on the occasion of the

42 "Neues Deutschland", June 17, 1960.

43 "Minutes of the 5th Congress of the Free German Trade Union Federation", Berlin 1959.

reception given for a delegation of the Free German Trade Union Federation in Conakry (Guinea) in February 1960:

"The working people of Africa can very well distinguish between the Germany of yesterday, that Germany where militarism and fascism have not yet been eliminated and the Germany of today, a Germany of peace, friendship and brotherhood."[44]

With the foundation of the "Committee of the German Democratic Republic for Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa" in Berlin on July 22, 1960, with the participation of many personalities, mass organisations and institutions, an organisation was created for the coordination of the numerous aid and solidarity actions of the working people of the German Democratic Republic and for still more effective support for the African peoples. Numerous communications received from the African liberation movements, trade union organisations and other institutions and personalities and the donations sent by various enterprises, organisations and institutions of the German Democratic Republic demonstrate the great significance of the committee. Judging by the speeches made by representatives of 16 African states during the inaugural meeting of the committee as well as the African communications received up to the present, the activities of the committee will contribute towards the consolidation and expansion of existing relations with the African states and towards the intensification of the joint anti-imperialist struggle for peace and democracy.[45]

In accordance with its foreign policy principles, the German Democratic Republic together with all socialist states and all peace-loving people will continue to do all in its power to ensure the right of self-determination and freedom for those African peoples who still live under colonial domination and suffer from imperialist exploitation.

The entire foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic toward the African states and peoples is still carried out under the conditions of a continuous struggle against the neo-colonialist and imperialist foreign policy of the clerical-militarist *Adenauer* dictatorship in West Germany.

In spite of the imperialists' pretence to be "anti-colonial" and their efforts to convince the African states and peoples that West Germany is an "anti-colonial power", facts are proving that German imperialism pursues a neo-colonialist policy toward Africa and even demands colonies on that continent.[46]

Bonn's foreign policy neither sets out from respect for the right of self-determination of the African peoples, nor from the principles of peaceful coexistence which are recognized by the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the globe.

44 G. Schabowski: Bei Freunden im freien Afrika – With Friends in Free Africa, Berlin 1960. p. 52.

45 "Neues Deutschland", June 23, 1960.

46 Thus the "Deutsche Afrika-Orient-Information" – German Africa-Orient-Information – Bad Godesberg, demanded at the beginning of 1958; "The German Federal Republic has a claim for the protectorates she has been robbed of (sic!) and which are ours by rights." It goes on to say that "it is a duty to participate in the return of the Reich (sic!) to Africa and not only to Africa."
Quoted according to "Bonn der Feind der Völker Asiens und Africas" see above p. 20.

On the contrary, on September 4, 1958, the Bonn State Secretary *Thedieck* rejected the policy of peaceful coexistence by saying that there could not be any agreement with communists.[47]

Faced with the unavoidable disintegration of the imperialist colonial system and of the utter futility of the undisguised colonial methods employed so far, the ruling circles of West Germany are forced to pursue their aims in Africa by means of neo-colonialist methods. Professor Dr. *M. Markov* characterizes this policy as follows:

"Neo-colonialism is – above all, a well-thought-out system of economic subjugation of underdeveloped countries by means of penetration of imperialist capital in this or that form and the maintenance of the backwardness of their economies."[48]

Further, the policy of the Bonn government aims at slandering the German Democratic Republic, at disrupting its Africa policy and putting the African states under pressure to prevent the development of their relations with the German Democratic Republic. This was confirmed by the Africa Conference of Bonn diplomats in Addis Ababa in October 1959.[49]

When the German Democratic Republic opened a consulate-general in Cairo just over a year ago, the Bonn government tried to put the Government of the United Arab Republic under pressure and, on the basis of the infamous "Hallstein Doctrine", to dictate how the United Arab Republic should shape its relations towards other countries. Bonn's impudent and arrogant threats against the Republic of Guinea regarding its attitude to the German Democratic Republic are also known. So far the Bonn government has not in a single instance succeeded in obtaining official declarations by African states of exclusive recognition of West Germany ("Hallstein Doctrine"). One of the reasons for this failure is the growing recognition by the African governments that the policy of Bonn i. e. rejecting the principles of peaceful coexistence and of the U.N. Charter, constantly infringing recognized international law and supporting the colonial policy pursued by the other imperialist powers, are in conflict with their most vital interests.

Even the West German press has to admit, that such a policy is doomed to failure. Some time ago "Deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschaftszeitung" wrote, that the Government of the German Democratic Republic

"displays great activity in Africa. Therefore a (West) German Africa policy will find it difficult to operate on the assumption that legalistic arguments can convince the Africans that the legitimate representation of Germany is delegated by Bonn and not by East Berlin."[50]

47 "Deutsche Aussenpolitik", Berlin, special edition III/1959, p. 39.

48 Quoted according to "Bonn – der Feind der Völker Asiens und Afrikas", see above, p. 9. Cp.: "Geschichte und Geschichtsbild Afrikas" published by Prof. Dr. W. Markov, Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1960.

49 Unsere Politik mit den Ländern Afrikas. Ergebnisse der Afrika Konferenz des Auswärtigen Amtes in Addis Ababa – Our Policy in the African Countries. Outcome of the Africa Conference in Adis Ababa of the Bonn Foreign Office, "Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung", October 23, 1959.

50 "Deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschaftszeitung", November 19, 1959.

In its last declaration the Government of the German Democratic Republic exposed the hypocritical character of West German talk about the right of self-determination of the peoples; showing that the policy of threats, blackmail and intervention into the internal affairs of other countries form an inseparable component of Bonn's policy of neo-colonialism. This declaration goes on to say:

"The Federal Government wants to blackmail the governments of other countries that they support the policy of Bonn, which is aggressive and opposed to reconciliation. This constitutes a serious intervention into the internal affairs of those countries. The attempts by Bonn to intimidate the independent states and to prevent them from opening diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic have no chance of success. The development of the international relations of the German Democratic Republic is just as inevitable as the complete disintegration of the colonial system is unavoidable."[51]

The fundamental differences between the Africa policy of the two German states are increasingly recognized by the African states and peoples. They understand ever better that the Africa policy pursued by the German Democratic Republic is an effective contribution towards the consolidation of their independence and that the national liberation movement of the African peoples has in the German Democratic Republic a natural ally in their joint struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for the maintenance and consolidation of peace.

From the numerous African voices affirming this, we only quote Mrs. *Bankolé M. D.* from Nigeria who declared in the course of a meeting in Leipzig:

"No African will say today, that the German Democratic Republic does not exist. To us the German Democratic Republic is a big support."[52]

The constant efforts of the German Democratic Republic to improve its relations with the African states and peoples as well as to expose the neo-colonialist and imperialist Africa policy of West Germany at the same time serve the relaxation of tension and the consolidation of peace in Europe and Africa.

In addition to its growing economic strength and anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist Africa policy, the affiliation of the German Democratic Republic to the socialist camp is of decisive significance to its constantly growing international reputation in Africa. By its Africa policy, the German Democratic Republic, with the other socialist states, makes a contribution towards the world-wide struggle against imperialism, colonialism and the threat of atomic war, for the maintenance and consolidation of peace and the realisation of the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations. In this connection the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, *Walter Ulbricht* stated:

"The foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic turned out to be the only correct German foreign policy. While the policy of revenge-seeking and atomic armament pursued by West Germany has led the Adenauer regime more and more into isolation, our republic has gained high international

51 "Neues Deutschland", March 11, 1960.
52 "Tribüne", March 9, 1960.

reputation as a result of our peaceful policy and has made an important contribution to the maintenance of peace."[53]

The German Democratic Republic consolidates its international reputation with the African peoples while the imperialist and neo-colonialist policy of the Bonn Government is increasingly exposed.

At the same time, agreements on the main questions of contemporary world politics between the German Democratic Republic and the African states ensure constantly growing cooperation in all spheres.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic and its people are firmly convinced that the African states and peoples will become more and more aware of the true aims of the Africa policy pursued by the West German regime. This perception will play its part in their just struggle against colonialism, imperialism, the threat of atomic war and for peace, national independence and progress in cooperation with the German Democratic Republic, the socialist states and all peace-loving forces in the world.

(From: "Deutsche Aussenpolitik", Special Edition I/1960)

53 W. Ulbricht: "Des deutschen Volkes Weg und Ziel" – The Path and Aims of the German people, "Einheit", No. 9/1959, p. 1233.

The Africa Policy of German Imperialism

HEINRICH SPERKER

This article is an attempt to place the Africa policy of German imperialism in its proper perspective; it deals mainly with present day efforts by German imperialism in Africa – it makes some comparisons of a historical nature in as much as they are relevant in characterising contemporary policy of German imperialism.

Colonial Policies belong to Imperialism

German imperialism, again revived in Western Germany, has an all embracing programme of aggression and a swallowing up process which threatens both the Europeans and peoples of other continents. Within this aggressive programme there is a considerable colonial element directed against the national liberation movement of the exploited colonial peoples in Africa and Asia who are struggling for their independence. Closely cooperating with American finance capital, the West German imperialists have for years been trying to increase their power of influence, to redivide colonial territories and to extend their domination over the newly independent states.

As much as the West German government tries to hide these facts, they are in reality part and parcel of the policies of monopoly capitalism and characteristical of that economic system, and inherent in the policies of ruling circles in West Germany. These are the same forces which compelled Germany to follow the quest for colonies before the first and second World War and today are behind the efforts of West Germany to share in the spoils of colonial exploitation by imperialist powers. As early as 1951 the Bonn Vice-Chancellor at the time *Bluecher* gave notice of West Germany's demand for colonies – the core of the old fascist slogan of insufficient "Living Space". He said:

"Germany is one of the few countries within the European economic system without colonies, and has a grotesquely poor agricultural basis."[1]

They have always called for colonies

Africa occupies a special position in the expansionist aims of German imperialism; this continent has drawn special attention to itself. The reasons for this – in spite of different conditions existing when German imperialism first emerged – have remained basically the same. Because the rest of the world had already been divided up, German expansionist policy in search of profits from colonial exploitation, concentrated on "free" Africa, with its rich natural resources, cheap labour force, and its resulting particularly high profits. Though German imperialism was limited by the other colonial powers (particularly Great Britain and France) it was able to secure areas covering 270,700 square kilometres[2] and a population of nearly 13 millions.

1 "Aussenpolitik", Stuttgart, Nr. 3/1951.
2 Togo, Camerouns, German South West Africa and German East Africa.

Still dissatisfied the German imperialists tried to bring South and North Africa under their control. In fact the vast network of German imperialism's colonial policy played a decisive role in starting World War I.

Between the two World Wars, Africa was at the centre of the expansionist aims of German imperialism which could not accept the loss of its colonies. In 1935 *Hjalmar Schacht* wrote, referring to these aims, that it was impossible to prevent Germany from retaking control of its former colonial possessions. These had in fact never passed out of German hands.[3]

One of the main advocates of an active colonialist policy was the former mayor of Cologne, and present day West German Chancellor *Adenauer*. Writing in the journal "Europäische Gespräche"[4] (Hamburg), a foreign policy monthly, he put it like this:

"The German Reich must strive for colonies. There is insufficient space in the Reich for its people ... We need more space for our people and therefore colonies. First I feel we should strive for colonial mandates, to at least take a step forward, but we should never lose sight of our aim, namely to possess colonies of our own ..."

Already prior to the 2nd World War, leading representatives of Hitler Germany (the then Foreign Minister *Neurath* in 1936; *Hitler* to the British Foreign Secretary *Lord Halifax*[5] in 1937) had called for the return of "their colonies". German imperialism went on the offensive for the return of the colonies during World War II. In 1940, the head of the Africa Section of the Nazi Foreign Ministry and present Bonn Ambassador to London, *v. Etzdorf*[6] worked out a plan in his capacity as liaison Officer between *Ribbentrop's* office and the Supreme Command of the fascist Wehrmacht. According to the plan the following territories (beyond the former German colonies) should come under German control: French Africa, the Belgian Congo, French Equatorial Africa, Uganda, Zanzibar, Nigeria, the Gold Coast and a part of Kenya.[7]

As a first step in this direction English colonialism was to be attacked in the Near and Far East by German imperialism. There was no other reason for the operations of the so-called Africa Corps in the fascist army. The defeat of Hitler-Germany upset these plans of German imperialism, but didn't stop it taking up colonial demand again.

The Drive for Africa's Raw Materials and cheap Labour Force

Once again Africa is at the centre of the plans of the newly resurrected German imperialism. Now recovered from its last defeat, it is striving more or less openly

[3] H. W. Bauer: "Kolonien oder nicht", Leipzig 1935, p. 21, Preface by Hjalmar Schacht.
[4] Nr 12, December 1927, p. 611.
[5] In a discussion on Nov. 19, 1937 with the British Foreign Secretary (Lord Halifax) Hitler declared with respect to the colonial question: "There exist two possibilities, fiistly a free play of strength. It is not clear what colonies Germany would take under such conditions. The second possibility Germany's right to possess her former colonies. (Documents and articles on history prior to the 2nd World War, Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow 1948, p. 39).
[6] Hasso von Etzdorf headed the section "West II" and in this way held responsibility over German interests in African territories South of the Sahara.
[7] "Bonner Korrespondenz", April 11, 1958.

for the return of its "lost" colonies. In 1954 the English journal "World News"[8] wrote that *Hjalmar Schacht* had requested, in a confidential note to a group of Essen industrialists, the return of Togoland, French Camerouns and Ruanda-Urundi to Western Germany.

This is not the request of a single reactionary outsider. Leading Bonn politicians identify themselves with the West German monopolist's strivings for colonies. For instance the President of the Bonn Parliament and President of the West German Africa Society, *Gerstenmaier,* speaking on the Bavarian radio on January 2, 1957, expressed his concern that West Germany still was not a world power and added:

"But this does not mean that we will, ad infinitum, play the role of a spectator. What happens in Africa, also in Central Africa, within the next twenty years, is not solely the concern of the English, the Belgians, the French and the Portuguese, e. g. the long established colonial powers, but concerns the whole of Europe and also us Germans."[9]

If Africa has now become so important for West German imperialism, there are several reasons for this.

West German monopolies, now again firmly entrenched in the Bonn state are seeking profitable grounds for investments in Africa. Since 1952 all restrictions of capital exports of West Germany were lifted by the occupation forces and as a result the export of capital by West German monopolies steadily rose and in 1950 exceeded three billion D-Mark. The increasing concentration of the West German economy encouraged this tendency, particularly in recent years. While in 1938 only 37.1 per cent of all joint stock capital was in the hands of companies each holding more than 50m. D-Mark assets, in 1958 the percentage had risen to 62.5. The proportion of giant concerns with a capital formation of more than a 100m. D-Mark rose from 25.8 to 46.0 per cent over the same period. Seventeen monopoly groups control 80 per cent of West German capital.[10] Now Africa, although not any longer "free" for the notorious imperialist plundering, is nevertheless imperialism's last available feeding ground. At the beginning of 1960, 70 per cent of Africa's territory and 60 per cent of her people were under colonial rule. This area is fourteen times the size of all the countries holding African colonies.[11] Out of 160 million people still under the yoke of colonialism at that time, 140 million people lived in Africa. German imperialism recognised that only Africa presented certain opportunities to set up colonies.

The West German monopolies are particularly affected by not possessing their "own" sources of raw materials. It is a fact that West Germany has to depend

8 Ettinger: Westdeutschland und Afrika, "Mirowaja Ekonomika i Meshdunarednije Otnoschenija" Nr. 11/1959 (German translation in "Aus der Internationalen Arbeiterbewegung" Nr.3/1960, p. 13).

9 "Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung", Bonn, January 4, 1957.

10 Out of the "G.D.R. Government memorandum on the threat to peace by West German rearmament", 1959.

11 Britain, France, Belgium, Spain and Portugal.

for the largest part of the raw materials on imports. To illustrate this, a few examples:

West German heavy industry imports 75 per cent of its iron ore demand, nearly half of this total comes from the U.S. This means that the West German steel industry has to pay higher costs for its iron ore, for instance to keep up with its French and American competitors. West German chemicals experience similar problems, in respect to the demand of crude oil. In 1959, out of 22.3 m. tons used, 17.2, or about 77 per cent had to be imported. The West German aluminium industry has to import all its bauxite. West German industry does not suffer because of this – it can cover all its needs by means of imports – however the German imperialists are not satisfied with this dependency. More and more they reveal their aims:

"Many impartial observers ask today how long it will be possible to keep industrial powers like Germany away from the world's sources of raw materials."[12]

The following thesis of *Lenin* applies fully to West Germany today:

"The quicker the development of capitalism, the more acute the shortage of raw materials becomes, the more acute the competition and the chase for the sources of raw materials in the world and the resulting competition for colonies."[13]

Africa possesses resources nearly unexhaustible. It is rich in oil and earth gas, in non-ferrous metals and precious metals.

An U.N.O. investigation in 1953 stated that Africa held the following percentages of the world's following raw materials:[14]

Antimony	22.9 per cent
Chromium	38.3 per cent
Cobalt	88.0 per cent
Copper	25.9 per cent
Manganese	37.6 per cent
Gold	57.6 per cent
Diamonds	98.4 per cent
Natural Phosphates	28.7 per cent

Africa has over 40 per cent of the world's water powers reserves (Europe 12.5 per cent) and half of capitalism's uranium is supplied by Africa.

The giant monopolies, for this reason, set about exploiting these treasures of the soil. Particularly in the last ten years they have launched various large scale schemes, e. g., the extraction of the Sahara oil, the building of giant aluminium factories in the Congo (where not only bauxite is available but also the necessary water reserves for generating electricity), the opening of various iron ore mines in the French colonies. The exploitation of raw materials is what German imperialism understands in "taking part of the world's sources of raw materials". As already in 1927, *Adenauer* today is one of the strongest advocates of German

12 "Industriekurier", Dusseldorf, July 25, 1957.
13 W. I. Lenin: Selected Works, Volume I. Dietz Publishing House, Berlin 1951, p. 834.
14 Figures from "Die politische Meinung", Cologne, Nr. 42/1959, pp. 19–20.

imperialism. It was *Adenauer* himself who commented on the water power sources which abound in the Congo and the vast oil deposits of the Sahara and who characterised "German chances in Africa" as an "unusual opportunity". *Adenauer* was particularly interested in the yet unknown regions of Equatorial Africa. He said:

"Precisely these areas possess tremendous wealth which, because of existing economic circumstances in the colonies, couldn't be used until now."[15]

At the same time West German companies see a good market in Africa. The director of the Deutsche Bank, Dr. *Pirkham* pointed out at the "2nd Conference of Research Institutes on Africa" that this continent with its 225 million people participates only by seven to eight per cent in the trade with the capitalist countries.[16] Now, with the emergence of independent states in Africa who have partly, and in some cases, even entirely severed the restrictions, forced upon them by the "mother countries", the West German monopolies are obviously waging an export campaign to Africa. Finally Africa plays an important part in the target of the West German militarists. They intend to use Africa's rich natural resources, its territory and also its people in their fight against the socialist countries. The African continent is particularly important as far as West German rocket development is concerned, since in conjunction with the setting up of the joint armament's consortium Bonn – Paris – Rome, the French government has offered West Germany African territory on which to conduct rocket tests. Above all the West German militarists consider Africa as a large supply base and a safe evacuation area for West Germany's armament's industry in case of war.

"The importance of 'Black Africa' – the vast areas South of the Sahara – as an armament's potential for the Western world lies in its usefulness as foodstuff- and raw materials' basis and as an evacuation area for Europe's industry in case of danger."[17]

With respect to this the West German militarists are in perfect conformity with their N.A.T.O. partners, in particular the U.S., in whose war plans Africa plays an important role in several spheres (sources of strategic raw materials, military bases and casual evacuation areas in the event of a nuclear war.[18]

In view of the West German War Minister's *Strauss* well known policy, of setting up bases in all possible countries, the passage quoted obove from the "Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau" is no longer theory, but must be understood in connection with Bonn's aim, to get military bases abroad.

Increased capital exports to Africa

Official figures for the period up to June 30 1959[19] show West German capital investment in economically backward countries, which totalled 956.1m. D-Mark, and only some 152.9m. D-Mark of it, that is about 16 per cent have flown to Africa. West Germany's trade with Africa is even lower, viz. only 5.67 per cent.[20]

15 Adenauer in a radio interview on March 3, 1959.
16 "WISO-Korrespondenz", Fulda, Nr. 3/1960, p. 109.
17 "Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau" Nr. 12/1957, p. 683.
18 see Wolfram Kirchner: Afrika im Aufbruch "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" Nr. 9/1959.
19 "Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung", Bonn, August 20, 1959.

There are various reasons; on the one hand the expansive drive of the West German concerns comes into conflict with the protectionist policies of the other remaining colonial powers, who use their power to keep their West German "partners" out of their sphere of influence. The Bonn Bulletin[21] states that half of the West German imports from Africa are brought over to West Germany in transit via the "mother countries" (mainly London harbour). With other capitalist investments the situation is even worse; they remain subject to strict control and the permission of the existing colonial authorities. The West German press has often complained of this state of affairs and demanded a change:

"It is an established fact that France up to the last years has often put difficulties in the way of German businessmen dealing in Africa and has created obstacles (and still does) against the development of a West German market there."[22]

On the other hand the West German press repeatedly stressed the economic and political risks in exporting capital (in particular private capital) to Africa's many territories. Because of the growing national liberation movement there is always a danger that West German imperialists could lose their investments through expropriation.

"Nobody can foresee the future political development in Africa, and investors in this area can't afford to close their eyes to the fact that there are alongside economic risks, also political ones."[23]

The West German concerns therefore pay special attention to politically trustworthy states, and these are in the first instance capitalist industrial countries and South American countries as well. It is true, however, that at the present time an alteration in West German capital exports is apparent. In the last two years West German concerns have been increasingly concentrating on Africa; the states of this continent, as well as economically backward countries in the Near and Far East, Southern Asia and Latin America have become a centre of West German imperialism's colonial expansion. With a fairly low figure for German foreign investments – 152.9m. D-Mark per June 30, 1959, that is only 6.3 per cent, West German private capital export to Africa has rapidly increased in importance. The growth of West German investment in Africa was in 1958 higher than in any other territory; the increase was 55.6 per cent (Asia 25.0 per cent, America 22.1 per cent).[24] In view of West German capital exports quickly increasing in Africa during the past period, this tendency can be expected to continue.

The total of West German capital being exported differs much from the various importing countries. The greater part goes to such countries as South Africa (77m. D-Mark) and Liberia (about 15m. D-Mark)[24] where the West

20 Out of 77,007 billion Marks worth of West German trade in 1959, 4,732 billion Marks went to Africa. "Neue Zuricher Zeitung", April 15, 1960.

21 "Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung", Bonn, October 23, 1959.

22 "Die Welt", Hamburg, March 15, 1958.

23 ibid.

24 "The Financial Times", March 28, 1960.

German concerns have not met such obstacles as they did in other colonies. Half of West Germany's capital exports in Africa go to South Africa.

The same tendency is apparent in Germany's foreign trade with Africa. Although Africa's share of West Germany's foreign trade is still relatively small, it is steadily increasing.

West German trade with Africa[25]
(in millions of German Mark)

	1951	1955	1957	1959
Export	643,7	1473,6	1923,1	2150
Import	1125,3	1769,8	2040,7	2222

Here also the West German imperialists try to further their colonial expansion utilizing the struggles of the young independent states against economic backwardness. Similar symptoms as in the trade between Western Germany and India emerge in Western Germany's trade with the African states.[26] In some cases West Germany makes a substancial profit as the following figures show for West German trade with Ghana and Liberia in 1959.[27]

	Ghana	Liberia
West German exports	77,972,000 D-Mark	161,575,000 D-Mark
West German imports	46,726,000 D-Mark	41,578,000 D-Mark

Either the countries clear this balance to West Germany in free currency or they remain and pile up ever increasing debts to Bonn.

Bonn's intrusion into Belgian and French colonies through E.E.C.

From the very beginning the West German imperialists have pursued intensively the integration of colonial possessions into the E.E.C., considering this to be a stepping stone for their colonial expansion in Africa. These efforts were given great support by long years of colonial wars which weakened French imperialism. The West German imperialists made use of this situation to pose as a friend of the exploited colonial countries. Securing West German financial support, France finally agreed that colonial territories should be integrated into the Common Market. In this connection they hoped that if West Germany takes part in the colonial exploitation of Africa, *"the economic basis of European capitalism will be strengthened."*[28]

The West German imperialists, however, followed only one aim. West Germany's monopoly press triumphantly wrote two months before the signing of the Treaty of Rome, that West Germany *"will now follow the pattern of France's*

25 DWI Report 13/1956, p. 14, "Industriekurier", April 29, 1958; "Die Welt", May 13, 1959 and "Neue Zürcher Zeitung", April 15, 1960.

26 The trade balance between West Germany and India showed an average debit of 800 m. Marks for India. In spite of repeated proposals from the Indian government to the Bonn government, no change has as yet come about.

27 Figures from "Afrika – Informationsdienst" published by the German African Society, Bonn, July 15, 1960.

28 "Revue d'économic politique" Jan./Feb. 1958.

overseas and colonial policy and to a lesser extent, that of Belgium and the Netherland."[29]

West German financial support to France follows two lines: Firstly by direct financial assistance, West German armament's contracts to France and by payments of the occupation costs for French N.A.T.O. troops officially stationed on West German territory, in reality, however, fighting in Algeria for whose upkeep over two billion D-Mark have been paid.

The West German bourgeois papers make no bones that this assistance directly or indirectly helps France in her colonial war against the Algerian people.[30] As a result the French government can allocate more to this dirty purpose as it is shown by the increased military budget of last year. Additionally Bonn has approved some 840m. D-Mark as a contribution to the Common Market's so-called overseas–investment–fund. This is over five times of the West German capital investment in Africa. This participation of Bonn in financing second line investments of a development nature (i. e., construction of railways, dockyards, the opening of energy sources and so on) are a means of gaining access to the treasures of the soil of French Africa, and securing West German private capital investment.[31] With this financial assistance to France the West German imperialists have, so to speak, bought their share in the exploitation of French and Belgian colonies in Africa.

In addition West German imperialists have promised three billion D-Mark if bigger shares and higher quotes are available.[32]

For West German concerns, the government policy of spending tax payer's money on colonialism, pays off. In March 1958, for example, 15 West German bankers and industrialists visited French Central Africa for seven weeks at the invitation of the Banque Nationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie, in order to become aquainted with its most important industrial centres, in particular bauxite deposits in Boké and Fria, manganese sources in Gaboun, the future reservoir in Kouilou. In each case these trips were followed by large scale West German capital investments in industrial projects.

West Germany's heavy industry became particularly active and was able to find access to approximately all projects of the E.E.C. for the exploitation of Africa's iron ore deposits.

The iron ore deposits near Fort Gourand in Mauretania (West Africa), which are estimated to some 120m. tons and could be exploited in an open-cast-mining basis, are in the hands of the international consortium MIFERMA (Société des Mines de Fer de Mauretaine). As a result a number of West German concerns

29 "Neue Rhein-Zeitung" February 21, 1957.

30 "Westfälische Rundschau", Dortmund, April 24, 1958. "The French state finances are already bankrupt because of their tremendous expenditure on the Algerian war. If Paris has been able to avoid bankruptcy, then above all thanks go to West Germany for the generosity of her financial aid. In other words, West Germany finances France's Algerian war."

31 "Der Spiegel", Hamburg, February 27, 1957.

32 Paul Friedländer: "Die Expansion der Deutschen Monopole und das imperialistische Eurafrika-Projekt", "Einheit", Berlin Nr. 2/1959, p. 241.

such as Krupp, Mannesmann, Thyssen, Kloeckner, Hoesch and Haniel hold ten per cent of the share capital.

The same group has interests of also ten per cent in the Société des Mines de Fer de Mekambo which exploits the iron ore deposits near Mekambo, estimated to 500m. tons. Here the West German concerns work closely together with the American Bethlehem Steel Corporation. In addition West German heavy industry has assured its influence in other projects, as
the iron ore deposits near Tindouf in Algeria,
the iron ore mines in Guinea,
the manganese industry in Pointe Noire, and others.[33]

The West German aluminium industry is particularly interested in African bauxite deposits. An example is the Vereinigte Aluminium Werke in Bonn (VAW) which really pushes the interests of all aluminium processing concerns; it has its finger in the pie in all three following African projects:

1. Through the international aluminium cartel "Aluminga" due to start production at the proposed Inga-project in the Congo, which plans an output of some 500,000 tons of aluminium; about a sixth of the total aluminium production of the capitalist world.

2. The Konkuré-project in Guinea which has been launched by the "Société Européenne pour l'Etude de l'Industrie de l'Aluminium en Afrique", and in which the VAW has a ten per cent interest, and

3. the Kouilou-project (French Equatorial Africa) in which the VAW has also assured its influence through a ten per cent investment under the auspices of the "Société d'Etudes Hydro-Electriques du Kokuré et de Kouilou".

West German monopoly capital is also trying to obtain similar positions in the oil branch. For this reason the West German Oil Company (DEA) has cooperated with several French concerns to initiate oil prospecting in the Sahara. Several West German concerns the Deutsche Erdöl AG (DEA) and Gelsenberg-Benzin, Scholven Chemie AG, Wintershall AG and Mobil Oil AG have formed the "Société du Pipeline Sud Européen" by the CFP (Cie. Française des Pétroles) and the American Standard Oil Corp. which plans the laying of a pipeline from Marseilles to the Oberrhein to supply the Karlsruhe and Strassbourg refineries with oil.

Finally the Mannesmann AG is also mentioned which has cooperated with the Compagnie Française des Pétroles d'Algerie (a company controlling the rich oil wells of Hassi Massaoud and the earth gas reserves of Hasso-R'mel) to form the Defrol-Heizöl import company.

These examples of West German participation in important projects to exploit African raw materials could be extended ad infinitum – they show the speed and ruthlessness with which West German imperialism has increased its economic influence in Africa over the past two years as a result of the European Common Market.

Bearing this in mind two things particularly strike one; firstly the fact that the participation concentrates solely on the exploitation of large deposits of raw

[33] ibid, p. 156.

materials. No single project of West German capital participation helps the economic development of the country or territory (for example by building a steel works or a machine factory). This shows the hypocrisy quite clearly of all West German talk about wanting to assist the independent states, whereas their real interest lies in the maximum exploitation of raw materials to compete more effectively with her "partners".

Secondly it can be seen that West Germany more and more seeks common exploitation with syndicates, some of which are already in operation, which cover not one but several projects, in fact the exploitation of all French Africa's raw materials. Through the Deutsche Bank West German monopoly concerns hold 20 per cent of the share capital of the Consortium Européen pour le Développement des Ressources Naturelles de l'Afrique (Consafrique). No less a person than *Hermann J. Abs.*[34] takes care of their interests and his name is heading several boards of directors. *Abs* is also a member of the directorate of the Société Européenne de Développement Industrial, which is a joint foundation of the Deutsche Bank with the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas to exploit Africa's resources. West German participation in syndicates is noticable in conjunction with the ever recurring efforts of West German finance capital to do away with all limits on its participation in the exploitation of Africa.

When the Treaty of Rome was being signed West German monopoly capitalism indicated that it did not accept permanent "minor" participation of ten to twenty per cent. Returning from a trip of West German–French experts through French African territories in 1957 an embassy staff member, *von Hake,* head of the economic political section of West Germany's Paris embassy, said that it was time to think of a West German majority in shares at a number of enterprises, whilst others could be swallowed up with third countries.[35] Also the West German Director-General for overseas territories of the E.E.C., Ambassador Dr. *Allardt,* has tried hard to improve investment facilities in Africa. Only when still existing restrictions are removed and West German concerns are able to obtain a majority in the shares they can play off their higher economic potential against the French "partner" and start exploitation of African raw materials for themselves.

Independence efforts upset Bonn's plans

The independence of the former colonies has affected their attitude to the E.E.C. The comments of the West German monopoly press show the extent to which the E.E.C. member states have been surprised by the quick upsurge of the national liberation movements. Difficulties have arisen in so far as many African

34 Abs is chairman or member of the directing committee in the following West German concerns: Badische Anilin and Soda Factory AG, Combined Artificial Fibres Factory AG (Courtaulds and subsidiary groups) Dortmund Hörder Steel Works, Siemens and Halske AG, Potash Chemicals AG, German Libbey-Owens AG (American Glass and Chemical Delog Group) the Belgian Dalbusch Mines, Rheinpreussen AG for Mining and Chemicals (today German Oil Company), German Solvay Factory AG (Belgian chemical concern), German Shell (Dutch – British Oil), Steel Company AG to which DEGUSSA belongs. (See "WISO-Korespondenz" Nr. 9/1960, p. 405).

35 A. P., April 6, 1957.

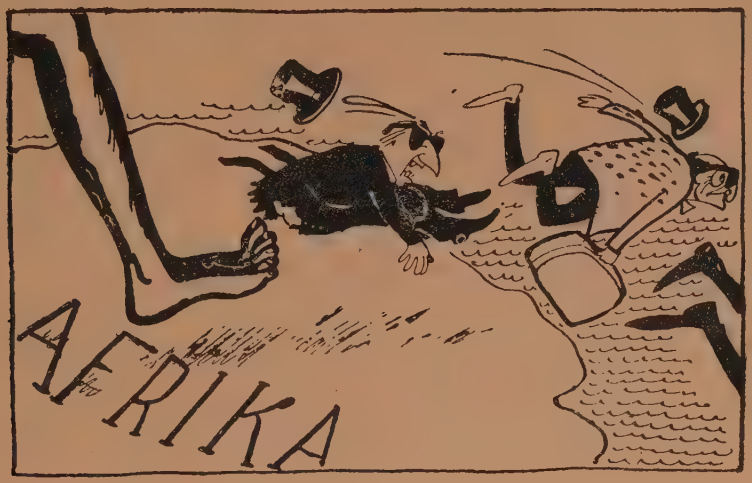
states having achieved or are achieving their independence have become "associated" members to the E.E.C. on account of their formerly colonial status.

"When signing the Treaty of Rome it was not possible to foresee Africa's future development."[36]

On the signing of this treaty the member states agreed that colonial territories should be integrated into the Customs Union of the Six. Laconically the Rome-Treaty states in Article 131:

"The Member States hereby agree to bring into association with the Community the non-European countries and territories which have special relations with Belgium, France, Italy and the Netherlands."

Naturally nobody thought of asking such countries *"which have special relations"* with the member countries of the E.E.C. what they thought of this idea. The colonial powers simply decided *"to incur commitments for these territories and to represent them in every international organisation"*.[37] But when former colonies become politically independent states, the E.E.C. member states cannot any longer take arbitrary decisions concerning the membership of African states in this



imperialistic bloc. Now the approval of the governments of the independent states is required – if these don't in advance reject any association with the Common Market.The "Deutsche Zeitung" wrote that the *"development in Africa had pretty well made Association agreements worthless"*.[38]

36 "Deutsche Zeitung", June 27, 1960.

37 Walter Scheel, Chairman of the "Committee dealing with questions on the association with overseas territories" of the so-called European Parliament, in "Aussenpolitik", Stuttgart, Nr. 6/1960, p. 382.

38 "Deutsche Zeitung", June 27, 1960.

The E.E.C. countries are now compelled to initiate negotiations with the young African states about a further participation in this bloc. The E.E.C. states hold unanimously the opinion that the newly independent African countries should belong to the E.E.C. and thereby remain semi-colonies.

There, however, emerge differences amongst the former colonies as to this association. These deal with whether the former colonies are represented by their former "mother countries" or whether they can act independently.

The colonial powers, in particular France, are interested that associated states should be represented, as was the case in the past, by the colonial powers in order that their influence on the newly independent states can be strengthened, and thus frustrating the expansive manoeuvres of West German monopoly capital. To improve their position the French ruling class e. g. tries to win the newly independent states as members of the "Communauté Française" before they conclude association agreements with the E.E.C. With this in mind the constitution of the Communauté was altered in 1960 to permit independent states to join.

West Germany's ruling class stands for a direct association of the young African states with the E.E.C. They hypocritically stress that they are acting in the true interests of the African states, whereas in reality they are intent on improving their own position in Africa. The above-mentioned *W. Schell,* writing in his journal "Aussenpolitik" becomes the mouthpiece of German imperialism:

> *"Nothing prevents the African states, who have become independent, to appoint permanent representatives to the E.E.C. who will maintain contact with the European commission in all questions interesting to them."*[39]

Also the West German representative in the E.E.C. commission and its President, *Walter Hallstein* reiterates the demand of German imperialism when he said *"the former European colonies could also remain in the E.E.C. as independent states"*.[40]

Naturally the German imperialists don't want equality of status in the E.E.C. with former colonies. Quite the opposite, they also want to discriminate against the newly independent states. They should not, as *Hallstein* remarked in Marburg, be repesented in the Ministerial Council of the E.E.C. because this *"is against the spirit of the agreement"*.[41]

Resulting from these differences of opinion it has been possible for the West German imperialism to push through its aims partly. The E.E.C. Ministerial Council has taken the following decision:

> *"The independent African states are no longer obliged to maintain their association with the E.E.C. through their former colonial possessors, but in future they can deal directly with the E.E.C. and appoint representatives of their own to the E.E.C."*[42]

Here only the form of the association is dealt with. It does not need to be emphasised that for most newly independent African states sudden complete

39 see Walter Scheel, p. 385.

40 D.P.A., Marburg, July 15, 1960.

41 ibid.

42 VWD, Brussels, June 23, 1960.

severance from their former "mother countries" would have serious economic consequences. In addition they hope for good markets for their products within the E.E.C. Furthermore it must be mentioned that many governments of the newly independent African states do not comprehend the dangers to their independence resulting from any form of association with the E.E.C.

The example of Guinea shows how the West German monopolists are prepared to take advantage of the new situation of the independent states. When the French imperialists threatened to stop the work with all industrial projects – and asked their imperialist partners to do the same, the "Neue Ruhr Zeitung" wrote in no uncertain terms, *"that there are other interests in the world than those of the French imperialists"*.[43]

Although the new African states' independence gives still much space for the exploitation by the imperialist "mother countries", the young African states have, however, the opportunity to curb the power of the colonialist imperialists. In so far as they are able to exert a certain influence on the industrialisation of their countries; this is the path of economic independence of the young African states. West German imperialism will not succeed in frustrating this process though there is no doubt they will use economic pressure and vast financial resources in an attempt.

State capital export and militarist policy help the monopolies

Sharply increased state capital exports from Bonn have played an important part in the expansion of West German monopoly capital. The fact, that the figure of 17.7 billion D-Mark at the end of 1959 represents a several time increase of overseas investment of West German concerns shows the extent to which the West German monopolies have used their state to further their own ends. Although the West German government took pains to stress that its purpose was to help the so-called development countries, they could not conceal that the sole aim of their "assistance" was to pave a path for West German monopoly capital to make inroads in the newly independent states. The West German "Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte" strikingly illustrated the true meaning of West German "aid":

"The term 'colonialism' takes a back seat. The term 'assistance aid' takes a front seat."[44]

The state voucher services (Hermes guarantees) play a big role here. The West German government takes over vouchers, guarantees and *"other securities totaling 9.5 billion D-Mark for export business and 2.0 billion D-Mark for financial credits, direct investments, conversion of debts and export deals of a special nature"*.[45]

Concentrated on raising exports originally, these funds have more and more become used by West German concerns to increase their capital exports to the development countries.

43 "Neue Ruhr Zeitung", October 7, 1958.
44 "Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte" Nr. 3/1960, p. 129.
45 "Entwicklungsländer" I/1960, p. 8.

A considerable part of West German state capital exports takes its way over various international organisations. Through the World Bank alone the West German government exported over 2 billion D-Mark between 1956 and 1959.[46]

If up till now only a relatively small amount of West Germany's total capital exports have gone to Africa, the reason is that West German monopoly capital could not reap so good returns here as from other countries. Nevertheless the German imperialists developed several plans of so-called support of the African states, in the last few years.

In 1954 *Hjalmar Schacht* proposed a plan to set up a "Fund to support German interests in Africa".

The "Bluecher Plan for Africa and Asia" of the end of 1956 urged the coordination of all the efforts of West German imperialism to subdue these development countries and is a drive for new markets.

The emergence of many politically independent African states has sparked increased activity by the West German imperialists. As an example, on November 27, 1959, on West German suggestion, the so-called European Parliament decided on a five point programme[47] which envisaged increased capital exports to Africa, additional markets and more "technical aid".

Headed by the then State Secretary of the Bonn Foreign Ministry, *van Scherpenberg,* the conference of the heads of West German diplomatic offices in Africa meeting in Addis Ababa, discussed similar questions.[48]

The tone of the conference was the consolidation of Bonn's contacts with the independent states and how these could be presented in a more favourable light. In a summary given in the "Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung"[49] the point is stressed that the West German ruling class consider their influence on the independent African states completely inadequate.

> *"On the role of Africa in conjunction with the movement of West German capital the conference stated that no arrangements for bilateral assistance from West Germany had as yet been made."*[50]

Immediately after the conference had ended, Bonn put its proposal into practise. At the end of October 1957 a Bonn economic aid delegation headed by the ministerial director *Korff* arrived in Addis Ababa, and discussions took place to advance a further 50m. D-Mark worth of credit to Ethiopia – thus bringing the total allowed to that country in form of "economic aid" to 100m. D-Mark.

Alongside their increased economic activity the West German imperialists sought to exercise political influence in the affairs of the African states. As a first

46 D.P.A., Munich, July 13, 1960.

47 "Integration", Cologne, 1/1960, p. 7.

48 Out of West German representatives in Afrika the following took part: the ambassadors to the United Arab Republic, the Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco, Liberia, Ghana, the South African Republic and the charge d'affaires of the West German ambassy in Guinea; the envoy to Libya, the Consuls-General in Algiers, Nairobi, Salisbury, Lorenco Marques, and Léopoldville; the Consuls in Dakar, Lagos, Windhoek and Laundi.

49 Bulletin, October 23, 1959.

50 ibid.

step, West Germany – following the U.S. pattern[51] – decided o send social attachés[52] to the African diplomatic missions. Their particular task is to influence the African trade unions along imperialist lines.

What the African states could expect from all the "assistance" was made clear by the "Society for the Development of Foreign Capital Investment" which stated a draft, published on November 14, 1957 on a "convention on the mutual protection of private capital investments abroad".[53] Putting the convention into practice the monopolies were given a more or less free hand in the young independent states. The pivotal question is, however, the protection against nationalisation.

Initially, for 30 years, no foreign capital should be expropriated. After this time lapse, nationalisation could only take place with full compensation, in fact "without delay" and only by means of a hard cash payment. It is already quite clear that this convention shall make impossible the expropriation of foreign capital; for how shall the country repay the foreign investments, the amount of which exceeds as a rule the budget of their country many times?

In the case of a violation of the convention – and naturally the foreign monopolies will themselves decide what constitutes such an infringement – the imperialists will operate sanctions; i. e. the old policies, military threats and the dropping of paratroops.

"Understanding that a convention without teeth is useless, such sanctions have been incorporated."[54]

According to the West German imperialists these sanctions would comprise:

"1. The discontinuation of public and private credits to the guilty states on the part of the agreement partners;

2. the discontinuation of future state guarantees covering goods and foreign investments;

3. the deleting of any preferential clauses with the guilty state."[55]

Here you have all the economic means by which the imperialist states hope to bring the newly and young independent countries to their knees. The acceptance of such a convention would enable the imperialists to interfere in the internal affairs of the independent states and put the latter completely under the domination of the imperialist countries.

The particularly aggressive and ruthless nature of this convention can be seen from its clause that *"the convention would guarantee protection ... also during armed conflicts."*[56]

51 In October 1959 the United States had already 50 social attachés working on her behalf.

52 The social attachés are recruited primarily from the Trade Unions and are an example of the cooperation between the right wing West German T.U. leadership and West German imperialism.

53 The "Handelsblatt", Dusseldorf, wrote in November 27, 1957 "Banker Abs – the real author of the idea of such a convention believes that it is particularly necessary in this moment to adopt such a Magna Charta."

54 "Industriekurier", Dusseldorf, November 28, 1957.

55 "Handelsblatt", Dusseldorf, November 27, 1957; H. W. Aust, "Magna Charta" of the finance Capital against the independence of the peoples, "Deutsche Außenpolitik" Nr. 1/1958.

56 "Frankfurter Allgemeine", November 27, 1957.

This clause of the convention must be understood in connection with the losses of assets of German imperialists resulting from World War II.

Docile followers wanted

An important part of Bonn's "Development Aid" is the so-called technical assistance, e. g., the setting up of educational institutions in economically backward countries, the training of students and technicians, the sending of so-called experts etc. For this purpose the Bonn Foreign Office has a fund which spent 211m. D-Mark between 1956 and 1959. Africa received the largest amount, namely 30 per cent.[57]

Out of this total 40 per cent were used to build educational institutions. The importance the Bonn government attaches precisely to these institutions for the interference of West German monopoly capital can be gleaned from the Bonn "Bulletin" comment that *"it has already become possible for West Germany to establish a net of educational institutions in Africa."*[58]

To hide their real aims the West German imperialists demagogically stress their thesis of a "real partnership in rendering economic aid", which is to consist in the *participation of the development country of all kinds of projects or ... the establishment of joint projects, respectively".*[59] In this way the West German ruling circles even try to use this situation for their expansive programme. This is what guides the Bonn government when it promotes training foreign students and technicians. At the moment over 20,000 students and about 11,000 trainees are being misused by the West German imperialists for their expansionist plans.

> *"One of the most effective steps of developing export trade ... is the training and tuition of students or engineers, in particular from the African, Asian and Latin American countries."*[60]

So it is hardly surprising that these students and trainees learn during their stay in West Germany, who are the masters.

> *"These people quickly understand strict language, and if one gives them the alternative either to put up with it or return home, they soon find their place."*[61]

Students and trainees from Black Africa have to put up with particularly vicious discrimination in West Germany. Because of their colour they are insulted in the West German newspapers, they are forbidden – in a similar way to conditions in the U.S.A. – entry into restaurants and other places. Even if some papers try to make out that these are isolated cases, it must be stated that such things are fully in line with official West German ruling class policies.

It is not purely accidental that West Germany maintains the closest relations with the South African Republic where racial discrimination is official policy. And

57 "Entwicklungsländer" Nr. 1/1960, p. 8.

58 "Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung", Bonn, October 23, 1959.

59 ibid.

60 "Der Tag", West Berlin, March 1, 1960.

61 Frankfurt Radio, November 24, 1959.

if another proof of the hostile attitude of West Germany to the African peoples is needed, the instance is brought to light by the President of West Germany, *Lübke*, who prior to visiting South Africa in 1959 considered that country's racial policies *"as the pattern for other parts of Africa"*.[62]

Colonial Institutes as a cloak for aggression

Characteristic of the ever more open plans of the West German imperialists is the setting up of several West German colonial societies,[63] which had been in existence in Germany before the First World War, and the activities, always in disguise, of colonial institutes used for West German propaganda purposes. Here is a comparison with the past. In the past these colonial associations had initiated propaganda which prepared the ground for German imperialism's massive drive for colonies. They don't just stick to West Germany but organise their activity on an international scale – openly intent on again realising the colonial demands of West German imperialism. As an example "The 2nd Congress of Institutes for the Study of Africa"[64] met in Paris between January 6th and 9th, 1960. At this Congress 43 African institutes mainly covering the European capitalist sphere of influence, were represented.[65]

This was not a scientific congress, but rather an opportunity for West German colonial interests to be represented, what was revealed by the participation of Dr. *Pirkham*, who was officially described in the attendance list as a representative of the "German African Society" as well as a director of the Deutsche Bank.

In the same way as the West German imperialists pursue their aggressive plans against the socialist countries under the slogan of "Anti-Communism" they also adopt a policy of Anti-Communism to cover their real colonial aims of West German monopoly capital in the African states. The tone of *Pirkham's* political views concerning "the need for closer cooperation with Africa" was that everything must be done to prevent "Africa falling into Communist hands". *Pirkham* shows the real aim of West German imperialism at another point in his speech when he refers to large potential profits to be made in Africa:

> *"Everybody who invests capital in Africa has to reckon with financial losses... on the other hand his potential profit is much higher. In any case Africa offers businessmen a series of large and advantagious possibilities."*[66]

No Future for the Bonn neocolonialists

If we have tried to show some of the methods used by West German imperialism in its exploitation in Africa, we must at the same time stress that their

62 S.P.D. Press Office, April 30, 1959.

63 Before World War I 78 colonial societies existed in Germany, who, after the War, equipped with the necessary financial means pressed for the return of "their" former colonial possessions.

64 The 1st Congress, which met in 1958 in Rome, met on the basis of the joint initiative of an Italian-Dutch Institute as well as the (Bonn) German Africa Society. The real initiative lay with the West German Africa Society ("WISO-Korrespondenz", Nr. 3/1960.

65 Those "African" institutes attending were almost entirely branches of the institutions of European capitalist states.

66 "WISO-Korrespondenz", Nr. 3/1960, p. 110.

efforts are doomed to fail. They stand in direct contradiction with the historical development which shows that West German imperialism has, today, less chances than ever before to possess colonies.

Before our eyes the imperialist colonial system is collapsing. At the beginning of 1960 some 60 per cent of the African people lived under colonial oppression; by the end of the year, out of a total African population of 235 millions, more than 170 millions had won their independence and it is only a question of time until the whole of Africa is independent. This trend cannot be stopped by the West German, the American and the other traditional colonial powers. In particular it is impossible today to force states who have gained their independence, even by using new methods, to give up that independence. The newly independent peoples have not struggled for their political independence in order to lose it to German imperialism. In their struggle against imperialism the African people are becoming more and more united in their determination to allow nobody to rob them of their independence.

At the centre of the discussions at the 2nd Addis Ababa Conference of independent African states,[67] which took place from the 14th to the 26th of June 1960, was the ending of all forms of colonialism in Africa and the organisation of resistance to the manoeuvres of the imperialist states. In a decision the African peoples were called on to form a united front against imperialism, to wipe out colonialism in Africa and to effectively prevent any form of economic interference by the foreign imperialist powers. The delegate to the conference from the United Arab Republic, *Sabry,* referred to the imperialist's method of "going out of the door, so that they can climb back in again through the kitchen window".

However much the Bonn government tries to show off as a friend of the African states fighting for their economic and political independence, its actions always contradicting its professed aims, find no support among the struggling African peoples. West German imperialism has shown its true face; a world of protest at Belgian aggression in the Congo was to be heard, but on the contrary, West Germany came out on the side of the Belgian aggressors. At a meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Council of the E.E.C. the West German representative *van Scherpenberg* agreed with a resolution under which the E.E.C. member states gave Belgium "full support". Commenting on Bonn's point of view a Congolese parliamentarian said:

"A Germany that is cooperating with Belgium, is not a good Germany."[68]

It is clear that the African peoples more and more recognize the aggressiveness of West Germany.

Quite different is the standpoint of the G.D.R. government. There can be no doubt anywhere that the G.D.R. condemns the neo-colonialist aims of West Germany. The G.D.R. is decisively against all attacks of the imperialist powers and stands for the independence of the African states, and will continue to follow such a policy. The policy of the G.D.R. is a tremendous obstacle to West

67 At the conference representatives of all independent African states were present. Attendance was 2,000 delegates in all.

68 "Die Welt", Hamburg, July 15, 1960.

Germany following its colonial policies directed against the national interests of other peoples.

The workers in unity with the peasants and other sections of the working people who are in power in the G.D.R. strongly condemn any attempt to undermine other states and exploit their peoples. The G.D.R. has one aim only: to establish friendly relations with all peoples, the basis of which are equality, mutual recognition and non-interference into internal affairs.

Like the other socialist countries the G.D.R. is on the side of the African peoples. She has proved this many times by giving every moral and also material support to the oppressed peoples for their efforts to make themselves politically and also economically independent of the imperialist powers, and to safeguard this independence, once achieved. The African peoples can truly rely on the G.D.R. in their rightful struggle for complete independence.

Latin America and the Two German States

GEORG STIBI

Radical changes have taken place in Latin America in recent years and every day we notice further transformations.

The most profound change has been ushered by the revolution of the Cuban people. After fulfilling its anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic tasks this revolution has now entered a new phase of building the foundations of socialism. The Cuban Republic has decisively broken with imperialist rule, and the Cuban example is having a great influence on the peoples of all Latin American countries.

It is not only this effect of the Cuban revolution that is bringing about changes and progress in the anti-imperialist and independence movement in Latin America. There had been revolutions in various Latin American countries prior to the revolution in Cuba. Attempts at truly democratic transformations took place in Guatemala in 1954 under the Government of Prime Minister *Jacobo Arbenz.* In 1952, Bolivia overthrew its reactionary government which had been completely dependent on the United States. Although hesitant, Bolivia then undertook certain democratic measures and the government took possession of North American monopolies in Bolivia. A number of similar measures were taken in other Latin American countries. In Columbia the farmers waged powerful armed struggles for over ten years, and in many cases poor farmers and farm labourers took possession of land formerly belonging to large land proprietors and to U.S. monopoly companies.

Severe Blow to U.S. imperialism

The anti-feudal and anti-imperialist people's revolution in Cuba, which is now already a socialist revolution, is the popular upsurge in Latin America which has attained a final and lasting victory over U.S. imperialism. That is something completely new. In 1954 the U.S. imperialists were still able to suppress the democratic movement in Guatemala with brutal terror; it was impossible for them to do the same in Cuba in 1961. It was impossible first and foremost because today the socialist system is exerting the decisive influence on the cause of events; because the Cuban people have a united, steady and revolutionary leadership and are determined to defend their liberty and independence to the utmost. It is impossible also because the other Latin American peoples have turned out to be a mighty force in defence of the Cuban revolution, and influenced by their people's will many Latin American governments are taking Cuba's side against U.S. imperialism.

Until recently the government in Washington was still able to enforce unconditional allegiance from the Latin American governments. The United States did so in referring to the Monroe-Doctrine and through the Treaty for the Defence of the Western Hemisphere of September 2nd 1947, briefly called the Rio Pact. The time of unconditional allegiance is now over. When the U.S. government broke diplomatic relations with Cuba last year it asked the other American states to follow

suit. The majority of the Latin American countries, among them the most important ones rejected allegiance to the United States. Only the Central American U.S. vassal republics, Paraguay which is ruled by the fascist *Stroessner,* and Peru broke relations with Cuba. The greatest and most developed South American countries such as Brazil, Mexico and Ecuador openly opposed U.S. demands.

Influenced by this attitude Argentine, Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia and other countries have refused to follow the U.S. dictate. Although having different attitudes these countries also rejected the O.A.S. being misused for intervention when the United States organized the aggression against Cuba in April 1961. The Presidents of Brazil and Argentine met at the Brazilian frontier town Uruguayana early in May. At this meeting the Argentinian President *Frondizi* was compelled to agree to the principle of non-intervention in Cuba and to the right of the Cuban people to self-determination. That was a severe political defeat for the U.S.A. extending far beyond Cuba, over the entire South American continent.

This occasion has shown that the bilateral military pacts concluded by the United States with most of the large Latin American countries in the ten years following World War II are no longer very effective. The disintegration of the colonial system and the mighty upsurge of the anti-imperialist national liberation movement in Latin America have initiated the decay of the military blocs which the U.S.A. has sought to build up on this continent. This process is also accompanied by a collapse of the American bloc in the United Nations, and the 15th U.N. General Assembly showed this quite clearly.

This development is necessarily reflected in the foreign policy of the Latin American states, and particularly in their relations with the socialist countries.

Before World War II only Mexico had diplomatic relations between 1924 and 1930 with the only socialist state at that time, namely the Soviet Union. Mexico renewed these relations in 1942. Due to their complete dependence on the United States, all the other Latin American countries were not permitted to have such relations with the Soviet Union. Under the influence of the decisive part played by the Soviet Union in the anti-Hitler coalition, numerous Latin American states have established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union toward the end of World War II and in the immediate post-war years. These states are Argentine, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Columbia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Nicaragua, Uruguay and Venezuela. With the exception of Argentine and Uruguay all other states broke these relations on U.S. order in 1946/47.

Now a change has taken place. Revolutionary Cuba has of course established diplomatic relations with the socialist states. Brazil, the largest Latin American country has re-established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union; she has also established such relations with Albania, Bulgaria, Roumania and Hungary, and her missions in Czechoslovakia and Poland have been raised to embassy status.

Bolivia established diplomatic relations with the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in 1960 and parliament resolved to re-establish relations with the U.S.S.R.

Argentine, Uruguay, Columbia and Mexico have diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia and with some other socialist countries.

Where diplomatic relations are as yet not established, trade connections have often been made and the exchange of goods between the socialist and the Latin American countries is increasing rapidly. Latin American countries are greatly interested in selling their products to socialist countries; this is clearly to be seen by the extensive trade agreements Brazil has concluded with all European People's Democracies and by her negotiations with the Soviet Union.

The Latin American countries are sending increasing numbers of official parliamentary delegations to socialist countries; that, too, is part of the political relations. In recent years delegations composed of members of parliament from Columbia, Uruguay, Brazil, Peru and Chile have visited the German Democratic Republic and were guests of the People's Chamber (parliament) even though these countries have no diplomatic relations with the G.D.R. Two parliamentary delegations from Bolivia were in the G.D.R. for the first time this year.

This development in Latin America is increasing in momentum, and it is resulting in new foundations of our foreign policy towards the Latin American countries. It is a general truth that the criterion of the nature of a state is its attitude to the national liberation movement; that is true, too, for the two German states.

Herr *Walter Ulbricht,* Chairman of the G.D.R. State Council enumerated the principles of his country's foreign policy in a speech to the Diplomatic Corps on September 26th, 1960, when he stated:

"The two basically different traditions in German history also become obvious in the attitude the two German states take to the anti-colonial liberation movement, to the Latin American states, and to the young states in Asia and Africa ... West German militarists and imperialists, in close alliance with U. S. monopoly capital, would like to turn back the wheel of history; they want to chain the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin American who are struggling for their freedom; with neo-colonial methods they are seeking to subject the newly independent states again. That is the worst tradition of German colonialist circles and militarists who are again influencing politics in West Germany and who are increasingly shaping that country's policy.

In her attitude to the countries and to the peoples suffering colonial oppression and struggling for national liberation, the German Democratic Republic is following a different German tradition, namely the one of the German working class and of German humanists who have always condemned and combatted colonial oppression and exploitation, who have always advocated the indisputable right of the colonial people to freedom and human dignity and the right of all nations to shape their lives.

Proceeding from these good humanistic German traditions the German Democratic Republic always supports the newly independent nations and their peoples struggling for liberty and their rights ... The German Democratic Republic supports the new states and the still oppressed peoples in their severe struggle for political and economic liberation, she helps them in broadening

the necessary knowledge and in speedily gaining the qualifications needed to develop their own economy and to administrate their own affairs."[1]

Proceeding from these principles, Herr *Walter Ulbricht* said that it was a *"humanistic duty and a requirement of international solidarity"* to support the newly independent states and the anti-imperialist movements of national liberation.

Bonn Supports Yankee-Imperialism

Events in recent years have repeatedly proved that the German Democratic Republic is consistently acting according to these principles. In the same period the different nature of the two German states became clearly obvious by their respective attitudes to the national liberation movement. To prove this we need mention but one example of what happened in the recent past. Let us recall the aggression initiated, organized and financed by the United States of America against Cuba in April 1961. The government and people of the German Democratic Republic immediately took sides with the threatened Cuban people; with impressive rallies and solidarity collections they effectively supported the Cuban Republic. The government in Bonn took sides with the enemies of the Cuban people, the American imperialists and the mercenaries they had equipped. The West German Government made the papers write gleefully and also prematurely about alleged victories invented by the aggressors; the press repeated all the lies that the Cuban people were only anxiously awaiting the aggressors as "liberators"; that they rejoiced that now *Fidel Castro's* head would fall and demanded that the entire western world help the American allies destroy liberated Cuba. This hostile attitude dictated by the monopolists has greatly contributed in exposing the West German imperialists as enemies of the Latin American peoples.

It now seems that the West German imperialists have not learned anything from the blow they have suffered in Cuba along with the American imperialists. Anyway, that is the logical conclusion from the nervous hue and cry and the West German Government's blackmail attempts in May and June 1961 against the Government of the United States of Brazil.

It is generally known that talks took place in Berlin from May 26th to May 28th between the Acting Minister for Foreign and Inter-German Trade of the G.D.R. *Julius Balkow* and the Special Ambassador *Joao Dantas* whom President *Quadros* had issued with full powers to act on his behalf. As a result of this meeting a joint document was signed in which both partners agreed that trade between the G.D.R. and Brazil could be considerably expanded. The agreed document contains figures on envisaged trade extension, and both signatories will submit corresponding proposals to their governments. Both government representatives also expressed their conviction that the realisation of the envisaged exchange of goods necessitates the conclusion of a trade agreement between both countries. They declared they would propose such an agreement to their governments, and for this purpose Minister *Balkow* presented to Ambassador *Dantas* the draft of a long-term government agreement between the two states. In order

1 "Neues Deutschland", September 27, 1960.

to conclude such an agreement Ambassador *Dantas* agreed to recommend that his government invite a delegation from the German Democratic Republic to continue the talks in Brazil.

This is quite a normal and proper procedure. But officials in Bonn seem to have a different view. They want to contest the right of the Brazilian Government to trade with the G.D.R. and to conclude agreements. The very gentlemen who loudly proclaim the right of self-determination for themselves, for war criminals, for revenge-seeking politicians and the men preparing a new war, deny the Brazilian people the right of self-determination, the right to decide their own home and foreign policy.

The government in Bonn has let the Brazilian Government know its "alarm" and "astonishment" about the agreement with the G.D.R.; it has "warned of the consequences" and stated it would be "forced to apply the Hallstein-Doctrine" if Brazil were to recognize the G.D.R. Bonn is brazenly using threats and blackmail just as *Hitler* used to do to other peoples. This is actually not surprising. The present West German Ambassador in Brazil is Dr *Herbert Dittmann.* A faithful nazi, he served twelve years in the Foreign Office under *Ribbentrop;* part of this time he spent in the staff department. This obviously makes him a very trustworthy person for the Federal Republic and caused Chancellor *Adenauer* to put the nazi *Dittmann* in charge of the entire staff department of the Foreign Office in 1951. *Adenauer* not only applies Hitler's methods; it is the very same people who served under *Hitler* who are in power in the West German state today practising the old nazi methods.

When calling at the Brazilian Foreign Ministry the already mentioned nazi Ambassador *Dittmann* stated that if Brazil were to accept the agreement with the G.D.R. the West German Federal Government might not grant the loans requested by the Brazilian Government. Using the big stick of foreign debts and payments burdening Brazil, they wanted to force the Brazilian Government to abandon its sovereign rights and to annul the protocol signed in Berlin. This trick did not succeed, though it is to be expected that the West German Government will not relinquish its efforts and its blackmailing.

The then President of the United States of Brazil *Janio Quadros* has publicly rejected the unreasonable demand of the West German colonialists. The German Democratic Republic fully recognizes and supports the earnest efforts of this largest and most populous country in Latin America for complete political and economic independence, for liberation from the pressure of foreign monopolies, the strivings for independence from imperialist military blocs and for neutrality enabling Brazil normal and fertile relations with all states. This corresponds with the principles of our foreign policy explained by *Walter Ulbricht,* as a policy of peace, of understanding and peaceful co-existence with all peoples.

The relations of our Republic to the countries liberated from colonial exploitation and suppression are strictly on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence: respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; non-intervention in internal affairs; equality and mutual advantage. This is where the

foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic differs fundamentally from the West German foreign policy – impudent intervention; denial of equality and of self-determination; denial of sovereignty; and not to speak of one-sided trade privileges and of exploitation of which the government in Bonn has just given an example to Brazil.

Neo-colonialism

The threat of the Bonn government to deny the loans previously promised to Brazil for political reasons is typical of the entirely neo-colonial policy of the West German imperialists which they like to refer to as "help" and "development aid". The then foreign minister *von Brentano* has admitted this in a speech to the Bundestag (parliament) in Bonn on May 5th, 1961. After making some hypocritical introductory remarks that "aid" would be granted without political strings he added that this

"does of course not mean that we are not observing the political attitude and the development of the countries applying for aid. We are more interested in countries with a development to freedom and which agree with us in their assessment of political affairs in the world than in countries pursuing a different path. We must therefore carefully study the influence of the eastern bloc in these countries".[2]

Things are quite clear. Any country trying to extricate itself from imperialist military blocs, striving for neutrality, establishing normal relations with the socialist countries and of all things with the German Democratic Republic must feel the thumb-screw. And this is called "freedom" and "self-determination" in Bonn.

Even when so-called development aid is granted it is not to the benefit of the recipient but of those who "generously" donate it. This is proved by the following quotation from the official Bulletin of the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government of June 3rd, 1961:

"Industrialisation is by no means the acme of wisdom for development countries. Speedy industrialisation raises social problems which are difficult to solve especially in development countries. It is essential to lay more stress on handicrafts often existing in these countries. By establishing profitable craftsmenship the middle classes will become stronger. From the sociological point of view this is of greater advantage to these countries than to push industrialisation."[3]

Herr *von Brentano* said the very same thing in his Bundestag speech on May 5th:

"When granting aid we must pay particular attention to the development of the social structure in the partner countries. It would not be sensible for us

2 "Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung", May 6, 1961, Nr. 85 p. 809.

3 "Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung", June 3, 1961, Nr. 100 p. 967.

to decide on erecting an industrial plant anywhere if we achieve nothing but the formation of a so-called industrial proletariat."[4]

Using its foreign minister as its mouthpiece, the Bonn Government quite frankly admits that it is not willing to help in really industrialising the less developed countries. This is of course especially important with regard to the Latin American states because the West German imperialists have considerable economic interests and influence in these countries. *Von Brentano* said no more and no less than that his government will use its influence to prevent true industrialisation in Latin America. Such facts should cause countries striving for independence to re-orientate their economic and trade relations.

In the foreign trade of almost every Latin American country West Germany is taking second place after the U.S.A. This also applies basically for the extent of capital investments which have been considerably increased over the past ten years. Aside from capital exports of West German monopolies and direct foreign investments of the West German Government there are indirect West German Government investments through the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation, the International Development Organization, through special organizations of the United Nations, and through the European Development Fund. All these organizations are links in the chain of collective neo-colonialism with West German imperialism playing an increasingly important part. It is acting in compliance with U.S. imperialism which is extremely compromised in Latin America and elsewhere and which therefore hopes to hide behind the back of the allegedly less compromised West German imperialism. During his Paris visit on June 2nd, 1961, President *Kennedy* said in the eyes of many peoples the U.S.A. had a bad reputation as defenders of the privileged classes, that this was particularly true for Latin America; it was therefore much desired for European capitalist states to participate in the so-called development aid for Latin America.

It would be deceptive though to think the peoples were not up to the tricks of West German imperialism. An influential Brazilian business man recently gave vent to his indignation about the exploitation methods employed by the so-called "Brazilian Volkswagen Works" which are transferring fourty per cent dividends annually to West Germany. This man said:

"We can manage to bear the haughtiness of the West Germans, but not the barefaced exploitation. What does it actually mean, Volkswagen do Brazil, Mercedes do Brazil, Siemens do Brazil etc.? They are in reality not Brazilian factories. Due to the enormous capital exports and the high percentage of German shares they are an unprecedented source of foreign currency income to West Germany to the debit of Brazil."

In order to prevent the peoples from getting to know the true nature of the West German Government, it is organizing ideological and political slander against the socialist countries as part of its so-called development aid. They call this public relations work. According to Herr *von Brentano* the public relations work is intended to make *"the development countries familiar with the*

4 "Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung", May 6, 1961, Nr. 85, p. 808.

way of life of the free world. They must know that their economic and national independence are dependent on the maintenance of their internal and external freedom."[5]

For this kind of mendacious propaganda considerable amounts of money are used from the taxes paid by the West German working people. This money is used to pay for all kinds of publications films, broadcasting and television programmes, exhibitions and lectures, invitations to politicians and other influential persons, such as trade union leaders, teachers and journalists, who are to be aligned to the Bonn course.

This kind of work is directly organized by the West German embassies and other diplomatic missions in every Latin American country. The "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" reported on May 10th that the influence and the reputation of the West German embassy in Cuba had much deteriorated. The newspaper therefore advised the embassy to become more active in matters of culture; to organize German language classes; to distribute literature, films, tape recordings and records; and to also issue propaganda material to school children.

In its so-called public relations work the West German government is endeavouring to utilise in particular people of German origin, of whom four million are estimated to live in Latin America. These people naturally represent various groups and interests, and it would be wrong to label them all as followers of West German imperialism. On the other hand it must be considered that the Hitlerite fascists succeeded in misusing large sections of these Germans as their fifth column directed against the interests of the Latin American peoples. Adenauer's government is now picking up the links with these sections, and through them is trying to extend its influence on the public and on economic and government institutions in the Latin American countries. I won't mention the considerable number of old and new organizations and institutions used as propaganda channels of West German "public relations work". Their main job is slander and subversive activities against the German Democratic Republic. Among them are a number of German language papers which the neo-colonialists in Bonn have acquired, such as the Sao Paulo daily "Deutsche Nachrichten", a particularly prominent mouthpiece of the West German embassy in this respect.

G.D.R. – True Friend of the Peoples of Latin America

As already indicated it would be absolutely incorrect to identify all the four million people of German origin living in Latin America with the West German neo-colonialists. Among these Germans there are many working people active in the labour movement of their country; there are also democratic organizations, clubs and societies of various kinds. It is our job to give them information, to counteract the one-sided propaganda from Bonn, and to let them have correct ideas about the existence of the two German states and their different nature. The German Language and Culture Circle recently constituted in Berlin should contribute to solve this important task in the interest of peace and democracy.

5 "Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung", May 6, 1961, Nr. 85 p. 809.

Although the German Democratic Republic has not yet succeeded to establish diplomatic relations with the Latin American countries, the requirements to develop and consolidate our relations with these countries must be considered favourably in view of the conditions mentioned in this article. It is not to be expected that the peoples will let themselves be intimidated by the pressure and blackmailing exerted by the West German Government, by its presumptious claim to represent the sole German state, and by threats to apply the Hallstein-Doctrine. Such a policy offends the dignity and the national pride of the Latin American peoples. It is therefore necessary to expose the true nature of Bonn's anti-national, imperialist and exploiting policy in Latin America. In this connection it needs to be stressed continually that recognition of both German states would not perpetuate the division of Germany or that it would endanger peace. Quite the contrary is true, and that should be emphasized time and again, especially in view of the struggle for a peace treaty and the solution of the West Berlin problem in the wake of the peace treaty. The establishment of normal relations with both German states weakens the aggressive German imperialists, consolidates the forces of peace throughout Germany, facilitates understanding between the two German states, and promotes German reunification. One-sided relations with the West German Federal Republic on the other hand are equal to supporting militarists, state and partizanship against the principles of peaceful coexistence. In his speech to the Diplomatic Corps of September 26th, 1960, *Walter Ulbricht* said:

> *"By maintaining in these condition one-sided diplomatic relations with the West German Federal Republic some states support – whether intentionally or not – militarism and revanchism in West Germany. These states often refer to the principle of neutrality, but in their attitude to the two German states they are actually violating this very principle of neutrality."*[6]

It is the very concern of the Latin American states to establish diplomatic relations with the G.D.R. The events in Cuba have confirmed that close relations with the socialist countries are the most secure protection from imperialist attacks on a country's sovereignty.

Close and friendly relations do already exist between the German Democratic Republik and the Republic of Cuba. A mission of the German Democratic Republic was established in Havana in summer 1960, and at the end of May last *Karl Loesch*, the newly appointed chief of the mission was received by Dr. *Dorticos*, President of the Republic of Cuba. Several government agreements have been concluded with the Revolutionary Cuban Government, among them a long-term trade agreement, a cultural agreement containing provisions for Cuban students and specialists to be trained in the G.D.R., and an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation. Aside from government relations, close connections do exist between the trade union, between youth and women's organizations. A Committee for Solidarity with the Cuban People was constituted in the G.D.R. at the end of 1960, and it has already done effective work in support of the Cuban Republic.

6 "Neues Deutschland", September 27, 1960.

In recent years trade agreements have been concluded between the Deutsche Notenbank (State Bank) and the respective banks in Argentine, Brazil, Columbia and Uruguay, and in the capitals of these countries G.D.R. representations have been established. Trade with these countries has increased annually. As stated in the agreement recently signed with Brazil it is possible to considerably extend the exchange of goods. Almost all the coffee consumed in the G.D.R. is imported from Brazil, and the G.D.R. intends to buy more products from that country. Uruguay, too, is profiting from the regular export of wool and skins to the G.D.R.

With Chile, Mexico and Ecuador we have not yet fixed commercial connections by any agreements. Business circles in these countries have often expressed the desire to increase the exchange of goods. To do so proper agreements are required, for without them any sizeable business cannot be concluded.

In applying the five principles of peaceful co-existence in our trade with Latin American states, we buy products from the country concerned and in return we deliver industrial products, machinery and complete plants to have an even balance of payments; we respect the currency of the respective country as the basis of settlement. We make no political conditions for our aid, and we do not share the fear of capitalist countries that the free countries could become economic rivals. On the contrary, we are happy to see these countries becoming more independent from imperialism, and we consider their success as our own progress.

I have mentioned previously that many-sided political connections have been taken up in recent years with Latin American countries, that parliamentary delegations have visited us from Columbia, Uruguay, Brazil, Peru, Chile and Bolivia. These delegations got acquainted with the life in our Republic, and after having returned to their home countries, they have often told the truth about the new democratic Germany. After their visit to the G.D.R. last year the Chilean parliamentarians made a detailed and very positive report to their parliament, thereby rousing the anger of the colonialists in Bonn. Both during their stay in the G.D.R. and since then in Chile, the parliamentarians spoke in favour of normal relations with the German Democratic Republic; they are continuing to expound this view with great energy and activity.

The recent visit of Members of the Bolivian Senate should have favourable results. The President of the Bolivian Senate has written to People's Chamber President Dr. *Dieckmann* inviting a parliamentary delegation to Bolivia. While staying in the G.D.R. the Bolivian parliamentarians – good patriots all of them – made a brief trip to West Berlin. They returned with the impression that the American way of life had spread just as brazenly in West Berlin as it had done in Bolivia for a long time, but in Bolivia it had been rebuffed in the 1952 revolution. (I should like to remark that the head of the delegation owns a large textile factory.)

There are diverse cultural relations between the G.D.R. and the Latin American countries. Many students from Cuba and some other countries are studying at our universities. Artists, writers and scientists visit their colleagues in the other country, groups of performers and exhibitions are exchanged. The G.D.R. partici-

pates in the annual Documentary Film Festival in Montevideo. But all this is just a beginning. The cultural exchange need to be intensified, for they help the people to know each other better.

Groups or societies for friendship with the German Democratic Republic have been constituted in Mexico and Chile, each of them headed by people well-known in public life. At the gatherings of these friendship societies lectures are read about the German Democratic Republic, and the interested audience receives information about the German problem. The recently constituded German-Latin American Society in the German Democratic Republic will help to fulfil this task.

(From: "Deutsche Aussenpolitik", Special Edition II/1961)

Burma's Struggle for the Consolidation of its Independence

HANS VOSS

Burma, like all young Asian countries, makes great efforts to overcome the backwardness forced upon it by the former colonial regime; the other young states in Asia are facing same difficulties.

One problem, which causes great difficulties for the peoples of Burma, is the continuous attempt of some imperialist powers, to secure firm positions in Burma for themselves. Of course, this is being tried in other newly independent states too, but there are particular aspects in case of Burma. Here the imperialists have in the past always used armed force to achieve their aims. It must be mentioned that all these attempts, which will be explained later, took place in those regions of Burma, which border on the People's Republic of China. It is clear, that the imperialist machinations are aimed not merely at the independence movement of Burma. They also have in mind strategic positions in regard to the People's Republic of China.

The imperialists – most of all the U.S.-monopoly capital – had set all their hopes on the Kuomintang clique, which have been on Burmese territory since the victory of the people's revolution in China in 1949. Fleeing from the Chinese People's Liberation Army, these gangs had moved into Burmese territory. However, they did not surrender to the Burmese forces, they did not evacuate to Taiwan either, but they settled down in a region near the border between China and Burma.

Thus the object of the stay of these gangs on Burmese territory became very clear. They were to be the vanguard, and the territory occupied by them a stepping stone for an aggression against the People's Republic of China. At the same time these foreign groups represented a permanent pressure on the Burmese home policy.

The American government and their puppets asserted that the *Kuomintang* gang was only a group of deplorable refugees. They even accused Burma of wanting to deprive innocent people of their last opportunities to live. All appeals of the Burmese government to remove the source of trouble were without success. When in 1953 this problem was discussed at the U.N.O. after Burma had pressed for this debate, a few thousand Chiang-Kai-Shek followers actually pulled out of Burma. But soon it was found out, that those who had been flown out were mainly sick and wounded men. The strength of the *Kuomintang* army was not touched.

But after a time even the patience of the meekest comes to an end. On the fourth of January 1961, that is the Burmese Day of Independence, the Burmese army started a large scale attack on the *Kuomintang* gang, which was given the name "Operation Mekong". The object of this operation was the annihilation of the main power of the enemy and the conquest of their bases. In spite of great casualties in hard battles, which lasted for weeks the Burmese armies achieved their aim. The main forces of the *Kuomintang* gang went over to Thailand and Laos territory. Small units which remained on Burmese territory were broken up. The main strongholds of the enemy were conquered, for instance the headquarters in Keng Lap on January 26, 1961. A great quantity of war material was captured.

The successful ending of the operation was one of its features; proof of the American instigation of this continuous aggression against Burma was another item of no less importance. It was stated that the *Kuomintang* gang was equipped with the most modern American arms, such as 50 mm anti-aircraft guns and rocket bombs. They maintained air ports, on which heavily armed American transport planes landed regularly to bring new supplies. These flights were also continued after the main forces of the *Kuomintang* gang had already withdrawn to Thailand territory. The planes dropped war material for the remaining scattered forces in Burma. On one of these occasions, on February 16, 1961 an air incident occured which caused particular indigna-

tion of the Burmese people. An American built four engined plane without identification marks entered Burmesian air space from Thailand. When ordered to land by Burmese fighters it opened fire without warning and shot down a Burmese plane. The other Burmese planes succeeded in destroying the American plane.

This air incident caused demonstrations in several regions of Burma, especially in Rangoon, which culminated in an attempted assault on the American embassy in Rangoon. A wave of hatred against the American interference swept the whole country. The US-Government and their puppets on Taiwan tried to deny the incident. The authorities on Taiwan maintained it had been a private, unarmed plane, which had dropped small presents for refugees. When this lie could not be kept up any longer, the papers on Taiwan compared this criminal attack with the flight of the American U-2 espionage plane over Soviet territory. The "China News", published on Taiwan for instance wrote insolently:

"... both are actions for a decent purpose. As the Americans, quite correctly, refused to apologize to Nikita Khrushchov *for their flying across Soviet territory, we see no reason, why we should apologize."*[1]

But all evasive declarations failed. The American aggressors could not prevent the rapid decline of their reputation in Burma. Declarations stating that they were not responsible for the actions of the Chinese on Taiwan could not change the situation in the least. The Burmese public showed significant unanimity in assessing the situation.

1. It pointed out that the regime on Taiwan was established by the United States and cannot be maintained without American support.

2. It pointed out that the regime on Taiwan could not take a single step of any significance without having the consent of the US-Government. If arms and equipment are flown regularly from Taiwan to Burma, this cannot happen against the will of the U. S. A. but must have their unequivocal consent.

Typical of many critical voices, is the following opinion:

"We are of the opinion that the government in Formosa is entirely a creation of the United States, in order to keep up the myth of a China, other than the People's Republic of China. The United States have to be made responsible for the policy of this government ... It is inconceivable that a government which was created by a certain power and which in its existence depends fully on that power, can act against the order of this power, of its creator."[2]

The fact that some of the arms captured were still in wooden boxes, which showed American friendship slogans, was met with special indignation by the Burmese public. Underneath the inscription: "Foreign aid programme of the United States of America" e. g. two joined hands were painted. All this was arranged with the American flag on the background.

In connection with "Operation Mekong" also the role of Thailand was revealed. It became obvious that the *Kuomintang* gang also got support from Thailand. Thus they remained unmolested after they had passed the Thailand frontier. The Burmese Prime Minister also proved in a great parliamentary speech that the planes invading Burma from Taiwan had to make intermediate landings, which, accordingly, could only be executed on Thailand territory. The hostile attitude of the Thailand Government against Burma will be dealt with at another passage.

If the American Government did not want to loose its face altogether in Burma, it had to take steps for its own exoneration. This was done by the American Government flying *Kuomintang* bandits out of Burma to Taiwan. American transport aircraft landed again on Thailand airports, this time taking their cargo in the opposite direction, to Taiwan. According to statements of the U.S.A. about 5,000 *Chiang-Kai-Shek* soldiers left the border region of Burma by this route up to the middle of April, 1961. It should be mentioned by the way, that these supposedly "starving refugees" were taken into the Taiwan army right away.

1 China News, Taipei, 19. 2. 1961

2 The Burman, Rangoon, 21. 2. 1961

However, the continuous aggression against Burma can by no means be regarded to have come to an end. 5 000 intruders are supposed to have been flown out. But apart from the fact that there is no check on this figure, the strength of the *Kuomintang* gang has always been estimated to be 10,000 to 12,000. The "Chinese News" quoted already above actually wrote:

"There are tens of thousands of Chinese refugees on this territory."[3]

After the end of the evacuation, there were still a number of armed raids on peaceful villages on Burmese territory; it was stated that *Kuomintang* bandits had taken part in them. Thus the lie about the ending of the aggression, spread by the U.S.A., was completely refuted. At the end of May, 1961, even the authorities on Taiwan surprised the world with the news that again some planes had been sent to the Thailand–Burma border to fly out some alleged refugees.

In the course of the criminal attacks described above, new tactics against Burma by the American imperialists suddenly became obvious. So far the tactics had consisted in keeping up a special army on an undivided territory; its characteristics now were to join the remaining *Kuomintang* bandits with certain efforts to disintegrate Burma, in order to achieve – so to say – a new basis for aggression against the People's Republic of China.

As is well known, Burma is a multi-national state. Two of the most significant national minorities are the Shan and the Karen. The Shan und the Karen dispose of a certain independence within the framework of the union. For some time, however, there have been strong efforts made in the states of the Shans and the Karens to increase their minority rights. To a certain degree these efforts result in the demand for leaving the Union of Burma. Besides there are organizations in both states which want to use arms to force the Central Government to give way.

We do not want to examine what kind of character these partly armed movements might have had in the beginning. It is important for the judgement of the present situation, that these movements now have become an instrument of the American policy of aggression in Burma. It is striking that recently the separatist movement has increased especially in those regions where the separatists had and still have close contacts with the *Kuomintang* troops.

The main range of activity of the *Kuomintang* was always the State of Shan, which is of great strategic significance because of its position(borders to the Chinese People's Republic, Laos and Thailand). The State of Shan, however, is now one of the biggest trouble spots in Burma. At the same time the movement of the rebels in the state of Karen has reached a climax. It is proved that the Shan as well as the Karen rebels cooperate with the *Kuomintang* bandits which, as before, are in Burma and over and above that directly cooperate with the regime in Taiwan and the Thailand government. Both rebel movements are equipped with the most modern American arms, supplied by the *Kuomintang*. Both rebel movements have formed joint units with the *Chiang-Kai-Shek* soldiers. Lieutnant Colonel *Gevan Shein*, commander of the fourth brigade of the Burmese army for instance reported at a meeting of Shan leaders with Prime Minister *U Nu* which was held in Taunggy on April 21, 1961, that 24 Lahu villages were destroyed and 300 villagers were killed in the course of joint attacks of Shan rebels and *Kuomintang* bandits.[4]

On May 5, 1961, the Burmese papers reported that a unit of *Kuomintang* bandits of about 200 men, under the leadership of the so-called Colonel *Wong*, had been established in the course of raids on villages in the state of Karen; this unit has its base directly on the Thailand-Burmese border.[5]

But this is by no means the lot. The Burmese Government has discovered that there is a direct agreement between separatists and foreign powers to fight against the Burmese government. The Burmese army for instance got hold of a treaty of mutual aid, concluded by separatist Shan leaders under the leadership of *Num Seik* with the *Kuomintang*. This

3 China News, Taipei, 19. 2. 1961

4 "The Guardian", Rangoon, 23. 4. 1961
5 ibid. 23. 4. 1961

treaty, effective for five years, includes among others:

a) Taiwan will support the state of Shan with weapons and military equipment up to the victorious end of the struggle for the independence of the Shan state.
b) The Shan state will permit the Kuomintang to stay in the border region of the state for the time of the struggle for independence and for a further period as long as there is war between Taiwan and Red China.
c) If need be, the Shan state will support Taiwan supplying material and men in its struggle against Red China.
d) If independence of the state of Shan has not been achieved after 5 years, the treaty should remain in force still further.
e) The signed treaty is deposited in the headquarters of the *Kuomintang* in Taiwan.[6]

The news about this shameful pact had the effect of a bomb shell in the whole of Burma. The Burmese people were terribly indignant with the treacherous attitude of certain Shan princes. Their just anger grew even more, when a further conspiracy was unmasked the day after the content of the Shan-Kuomintang-pact had been published.

Units of the South-Burmese armies had captured a number of documents in the course of their operations against the separatist efforts in the state of Karen, which proved without doubt the cooperation of the Karen separatists with Thailand and – over and above that – also with the regime on Taiwan. In the course of this the outrageous fact became known, that since 1950 there has been an embassy of the Karen separatists, the so-called Kawthoolei embassy in the capital of Thailand, Bangkok. This so-called embassy has the task to procure weapons and other military equipment such as radio equipment etc. for the anti-communist Karen rebels. It is not difficult to guess where they get this equipment from.

The captured documents included:

a) a radio message about a proposed meeting of Karen generals and a Thailand general;
b) a letter of the so-called Kawthoolei embassy in Bangkok adressed to the Director of the "National Security Council" of the Taiwan regime with the request for military and other equipment, and
c) a document, reporting on the establishment of an ammunition factory on Thailand territory for the support of the Karen separatists.[7]

Again the whole scale of the plot against the integrity of the Union of Burma became obvious. Foreign powers, backed unequivocally by the U.S.A., aim at separating important parts of Burma and at establishing a separate state unconditionally subject to the imperialist powers. By means of "Cuban", one could also call it "Congolese" tactics. they want to create a firm and reliable base in South East Asia immediateley on the border of the Chinese People's Republic. Just as in Cuba or in the Congo, puppets are pushed forward, to finish this dirty work.

The gentlemen in Washington, however, should not think that their plottings are unknown to the Burmese government and the Burmese public. The Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Burmese army Brigadier *Aung Gyi*, declared for instance at the meeting mentioned above, with the Prime Minister *U Nu* and Shan leaders, if the Shan state should be torn apart, the situation would become worse than in Laos.[8] Prime Minister *U Nu* also insistently warned the Shan leaders not to support the movement of the separatists. He openly declared, that under certain circumstances, he would in certain districts pass on the power to the army.

All this proves the resoluteness of the Burmese government to prevent all plots on the integrity of the Union of Burma. It can rely on the support of the broad masses of the people. The rejection of the imperialist intrigues follows clearly from publications in Burmese papers, which do not hesitate to pillory openly the instigators. In an article of the papers of the government party could be read:

"It is our opinion that America incites the Shan and Karen rebels, with the object of getting a firm position in Burma."[9]

6 ibid. 22. 4. 1961

7 "The Nation", Rangoon, 24. 4. 1961
8 "The Guardian", Rangoon, 23. 4. 1961

A few weeks later the same paper writes: *"In studying the treaty, which was signed by the Shan rebels and the KMT[10] and which was captured by the army, it becomes obvious, that the Shan rebels have direct contact with Nationalist China. Having contact with Nationalist China, one can assume that the Shan rebels also have contact with America."*[11]

The paper of the government party writes a few days later about the role of Thailand:

"Thailand is in a wretched situation. It is governed by order of America and is under the influence of S.E.A.T.O., which is led by America."[12]

Comments of this kind are to be found in almost all Burmese papers.

The strong support of the people for the Burmese Government prevented that the attempts to divide Burma have so far not been successful. The armed struggles in the state of Shan and Karen are not yet concluded. Besides there are indications that the imperialists are searching for new ways to attain their old goals.

The strong tendencies of the national minorities to obtain more rights within the framework of the Union are utilized by certain, mainly feudal elements of the national minorities, in order to develop a federation movement. They demand Burma to be transformed from a state union into a state federation. All member states should politically, militarily and economically become fully autonomous.

The defenders of the idea of a federation even convened a conference of representatives of all national minorities, to emphasize their demand. This conference took place from June 8 to 16, 1961 in the capital of the Shan state Taunggy. A document prepared by the Shan feudalists was adopted which proposes a federation of Burma, up to the very last consequence. (Every memberstate puts up its own army and police).

To whatever extent far-reaching equity of the peoples of Burma may be justified, the present efforts for building a federation must be watched carefully. These present plans would be of use mainly for the feudal elements of the Shan state and for the imperialists. The first would save their feudal rights which are in danger and the others would face a very much divided Burma, whose central government would be without rights and power and whose memberstates would only be able to exist with foreign aid. Added to this, of course, there is the fact that these member states are partly situated along the Chinese border. Certain imperialist powers would attempt to use this to their own advantage.

Because of these reasons the Burmese government has raised objections against these demands, although it recognizes in principle that the present constitution of the Union needs improvement.

But the Burmese public likewise regards the recent plans for a federation with great anxiety, because they fit extremely well into the plans of the imperialist powers to split the country. Thus the struggle for the consolidation of Burmese independence goes on. It is certain that this struggle will end with a victory, even if there should be set-backs and even though the imperialists and their underlings object to it ever so much. That is the course of history.

(From: "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" No. 11/1961)

10 KMT = Kuomintang
11 "The Pydaungsu Daily", 23. 4. 1961
12 ibid. 26. 4. 1961

The C. I. A. and "Operation Cuba"

JULIUS MADER

America's Secret Service announced the treacherous attack on Cuba on Monday April 7, 1961 with the radio code signal "Look well at the rainbow." Within hours thousands of troops equipped with the most modern weapons were landed at strategic points on the sugar island by naval and air units of the American Forces.

It was expected that the counter-revolution should be exported to Central-America from the territory of the United States and its military allies. This aggression was inspired by the American monopolies to overthrow the popular government of Cuba, liquidate the social achievements gained since 1959 by Cuba's 6.5 million people, pull Cuba back into the camp of imperialism and, above all, to return the approximately one billion dollar of American investments in Cuba into private hands. At the same time the peoples of Central-America would be removed from the danger of "contagion" by the Cuban example.

Immediately after the attack, the Cuban Foreign Minister *Dr. Raul Roa* declared before the Political Committee of the U.N. General Assembly:

"One of the mightiest nations of the world is at war with one of the smallest, and the goal of the United States is to bring a country under the yoke of imperialism which is strong enough to break this yoke."[1]

This is no new scheme. It was shaped as early as 1959 when the U.S. puppet *Batista* was chased out by the Cuban people and the revolutionary government took his place.

According to the Hamburg news magazine "Der Spiegel":

"The invasion plans of the U.S. espionage service are almost as old as the Castro regime."[2]

The imperialist American "Cuba-plan" and its basic strategy and tactics should be examined in three main aspects:

1. "The Cuba Operation" has again shown, *that American imperialism is the main bulwark of world reaction, the gendarme of the world, the enemy of the peoples of the entire world."*[3] The Cuban invasion is the best example in recent history of what the much abused concepts of "freedom" and "self-determination" of the peoples really mean in the minds of the U.S. imperialists. It was a *"crime that shocked the entire world"*[4] and a *"serious danger for world peace."*[5]
2. The invasion of Cuba expresses the modern reality of the American imperialist *"conception of total espionage work* in general."[6] This is a 1961 fascist model. It makes clear the special role of the counter-revolutionary variant of the brush-fire war in the foreign policy of the U.S.A.
3. The results of the invasion of Cuba show how narrow are the prospects for imperialism. The assault on the Cuban people was doomed to failure because of the
   a) political and moral unity of the Cubans, who had been freed from exploitation;
   b) permanent alertness of the masses;
   c) international solidarity;
   d) unmistakable offers of help by the socialist states.

This defeat of imperialist aggression provides an example of the truth of the statement by the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Worker's Parties in November 1960:

"Today the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to begin a war can be frustrated. A world war can be prevented through the united efforts of the socialist world camp, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all countries which

1 "Neues Deutschland" 18. 4. 1961
2 "Der Spiegel" No. 20, 10. 5. 1961, p. 58
3 Declaration of the Conference of Representatives of the Communist and Worker's Parties, cp. "Neues Deutschland" 22. 4. 1961
4 Message of N. S. Khrushchov to J. F. Kennedy 22. 4. 1961
5 Message of N. S. Khrushchow to J. F. Kennedy 18. 4. 1961
6 Co-Major-General William Joseph Donovan in the "Encyclopedia Britannica", Chicago/London/Toronto 1953, Vol. XII, p. 461

stand up against war and all peaceloving forces."[7]

C.I.A. – Organizer of the Aggression

The Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A.) is the directing office and the coordinating centre of American espionage and the headquarters of all espionage services of nations tied to the United States by military pacts. It must be emphasized that the C.I.A. is an official branch of the U.S. Government which bears all responsibility for any action, every breach of international law, every crime of the C.I.A. This very important fact is always suppressed by British and particularly West German publications. The C.I.A. with its admitted underground army of 100,000 officials and agents, represents a sphere of power of the decisive monopoly groups in the United States and is inseparably welded to the whole state apparatus of the U.S.A.

For years the C.I.A. has been used to undermine the socialist states, conspire against the democratic forces in capitalist and young national states, to organize putsches and so on. The fall of the Mossadegh Government in Iran in 1953 was engineered by the C.I.A., as well as the overthrow of the democratic government of Guatemala (1954), the counter-revolutionary attempt against the Hungarian Peoples' Republic (1956), the U 2 provocation and the encouragement of the coup in Laos (1960).

These few examples of hostile activities show what the C.I.A. "specialises" in. It is no surprise that in the middle of 1960 the C.I.A. received orders from the Eisenhower Government to organize the counter-revolution in and against Cuba.[8]

Allen Welsh Dulles, C.I.A. director, ordered *Richard Mervin Bissell* former economics professor in Massachusetts to be in charge of the "Cuba Operation". *Bissell* was since 1952 a leading member of the Ford Foundation, and has direct business ties with the U.S. Steel Corporation (Morgan Trust). He based his plan of aggression against Cuba on the so-called three stage plan of the combined staff of the U.S. armed forces, which is also behind Nato war preparations. According to this plan

1. the Cuban population should be psychologically "softened-up";
2. by joint operation of agents infiltrated into Cuba and a coup d'état, a counter-revolutionary government was to be set up;
3. this should immediately appeal for direct U.S. military assistance in order to destroy the legal Cuban government finally.

The preparations for each phase were pushed ahead frantically inside and outside the United States. The U.S.A. turned the radio station W.M.E.T. in Miami (Florida) and those in the Swan Islands (off the southern coast of Cuba) to an unceasing campaign of hatred against the Cuban government. The C.I.A. financed no less than 36 different counter-revolutionary Cuban emigree organizations. From these they recruited about 6,000 suitable mercenaries who were intensively trained for diversion and sabotage by Ranger instructors of the 7th Special Forces Group of Fort Bragg, North Carolina. Among these appropriately were trainers of agents for *Hitler*.

The training bases were in the American state of Florida, mainly however on the territory of Guatemala – America's Rio Pact partner. The air strips of the U.S. Air Force in Apaloca and Maraton, Florida and the air field in Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua served as starting points for air attacks against Cuba.

In the aggression against Cuba also the C.I.A. preferred to misuse the territories of her military pact allies – with obvious government permission – Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala, for actions contrary to international law. The extent of this is clear from the following "Time" report:

> *"In recent weeks* (before April 17, 1961 – J.M.) *50 freight carloads of aerial bombs, rockets ammunition and firearms were airlifted into Puerto Cabezas by unmarked U.S. C-54s, C-46s and C-47s, in such quantities that on some days last month planes required momentary stacking. During Easter week, 27 U.S. C-124 Globemasters roared in three or four at a time to off-load cargoes ... at the U.S. built airstrip at Retalhuleu, at Guatemala City*

7 "Neues Deutschland" 6. 12. 1960
8 "Time" 28. 4. 1961

and at Guatemala's San José airbase."[9]

This is how the U.S. observes the sovereignty of its pretended equal partner states.

The C.I.A. invested a total of 45 million dollars in its "Operation Cuba". The counter-revolutionary splinter groups alone received up to half a million dollar monthly.

The Cuban counter-revolutionaries have a large assortment of political programmes, but these differ from one another merely in details. At first the C.I.A. set up the "Frente" wing under *Manuel Antonio Varona,* a fanatical opponent of land reform. In the last stage of the counter-revolutionary preparations, the C.I.A. advanced the Batista supporters into the most important positions and used the 28 year old former Catholic student leader in the Havana University, *Manuel Artime,* as a pseudo-popular puppet.

Cuban emigrants were used by the C.I.A. as dummies to mislead world opinion. This has been established long ago. The C.I.A. and U.S. military men had proposed to the American government:

> *"If the first wave of Cuban invaders, however,* (if possible, there should be no American citizens among them – J. M.) *are not successful, then a second wave will land U.S.-troops, since Washington must prevent the collapse of this invasion by all means."*[10]

The American President specifically dissociated himself from this item of the plan only after the world wide protest against the "first wave". The Americans who controlled "Operation Cuba" intended to establish a beach head, to establish a government-in-arms, hold air-control and move into the interior of Cuba."[11]

The invasion preparations were forced ahead by the C.I.A. without regard to the change in the American government at the beginning of 1961, and were approved by the new American President.

"Cuba si! Yanquis no!"

It would be wrong to regard the American directed counter-revolutionaries in isolation. They can be understood only as the last link in a complete plan of the United States. This plan combines the various methods of American foreign policy and may be seen as typical for its espionage activity. The most important factst to be kept in mind are:

February: The U.S. bomber pilot *Frost* tried to burn to ashes an important sugar factory and was shot down. In Havana saboteurs blew up a French ship "La Coubre" and 90 people were killed.

April: Agents from Miami, Florida tried to smuggle in large quantities of counterfeit money to disrupt the Cuban economy and to arouse discontent among the population against its government.

July: President *Dwight D. Eisenhower* decreed a sugar boycott against Cuba. Cuba's national income depends 90 % on sugar, which makes up 85 % of total Cuban exports. The aim was Cuba's economic ruin. The C.I.A. began to set up counter-revolutionary groups.

September: From Guatemala, assassination attempts were made against members of the Cuban government delegation at the Assembly of the Organization of American States.

October: Bands of agents tried to spread unrest in central Cuba. They were quickly dispersed by the Cuban militia and security organs.

November: Saboteurs prepared the blowing up of the largest electricity plant and other key works. They were arrested just before the plot was due to go into effect.

December. Bombs were thrown in the populated centres of Havana (e. g. in the department store "Flogar") in order to spread panic among the Cubans.

1961

January: The campaign of hatred against the Cuban government was systematically increased. U.S. planes dropped large amounts of propaganda leaflets in the most crowded centres of Cuba. At the same time the U.S. broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba.

March: Many Cuban teachers and students became victims of an air-raid on the "Nobel Academy". In Havana, numerous dumps of explosives set up by American agents were

9 ibid.
10 "Der Spiegel", No. 20, 10. 5. 1961, p. 58
11 "Time" 28. 4. 1961

discovered and removed. The putsch attempt of 500 counter-revolutionaries in the central Cuban mountains was put down by armed force.

April: U.S. air forces bombed Cuban cities. Then the invasion of the counter-revolutionary gangs followed under American covering fire. Within 72 hours the Cuban revolutionary forces wiped out or captured the invaders.

This process reveals the interweaving of economic and diplomatic pressure with psychological warfare, sabotage and espionage. Events show at the same time that the courageous Cuban people and its government knew how to oppose the subversive U.S. plans.

U.S. Miscalculations

In this age of space flight, the C.I.A still has an unquestioned oracular monopoly. The "prophecies of *Allen W. Dulles* may rule the higher mathematics of the profit economy, but they fail against the elementary arithmetic of the anti-imperialist struggle of the people, the characteristic feature of our epoch.

Hans Habe of the Hamburg "Die Welt", disappointed by the failure of "Operation Cuba", could not resist criticising the method of the C.I.A.

"*What it* (American secret service – J. M.) *doesn't know, it guesses. What it doesn't*

guess it invents . . . falsification and wishful thinking follow one another."[12]

Blinded by such wishful thinking the C.I.A., originally set up to inform the President and his government of "facts", has not been able to evaluate the real power relations in the world for years.

With the increasing number of C.I.A. deserters resulting from this kind of political blindness and due to pressure of American public opinion, voices of reason can be heard. "Time" wrote:

"The greatest of all the failures was the failure of intelligence. Advisers to the invasion army professed to believe that the peasantry and militia were so fed up . . . that there would be mass defections . . . The peasants remained loyal to Castro and added their weight to the militia, which fought well enough for an outfit that was supposed to turn and run."[13]

Walter Lippmann commented:

"The object of the landing was to establish a beachhead for a civil war against Castro, and no plans seemed to have been made, no thought seems to have been given, to what we would do then, what the rest of Latin America would do then, what the Soviet Union would do, while the civil war was being fought."[14]

American foreign policy is based on such tales and speculations. It appears that in American espionage and last not least government quarters it is taboo to think about such delicate questions as: why should the free and successful Cuban cooperative farmers want to return to the wage chains of the United Fruit monopoly? Why should the Cuban people oppose the nationalised large plants and the proven methods of economic planning which had been able to raise their living standards so noticeably in the preceding months? Why should the Cuban youth wish to remain illiterate? Why should the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries, whose unbreakable principle is to keep their promises and contracts, leave the Cuban people in the lurch?

12 "Welt am Sonntag" 7. 5. 1961
13 "Time" 28. 4. 1961, p. 29
14 "New York Herald Tribune" 2. 5. 1961, p. 6

Those who don't think, must feel. The U.S. should learn an appropriate lesson from its disastrous "Operation Cuba". The U.S. came out of the Cuban adventure considerably weakened in international authority. Only 14 days after the defeat of the American mercenaries, the Cuban people gave the clear answer: Cuba begins the construction of socialism. The opposition in the states of Central and South America, the broad solidarity movement in the recently founded new national states, the determined attitude of the peoples and governments in the socialist world, and also the growing protest from sections of the population of the U.S.[15] must be an urgent warning for imperialist circles.

"Bumbling and Fumbling" policy

Senator *William J. Fulbright* (Dem.), chairman of the standing Senate Foreign Policy Committee who critically debated the American policy of "bumbling and fumbling" as early as July 28, 1960 in this connection, said that it appeared to be the worst mistake that President *Eisenhower* took the responsibility for the flight of the U 2. Ten months later, on May 2, 1961, *Fulbright*, one of the few American politicians, who from the beginning rejected "Operation Cuba", in a session of the same committee condemned the invasion of Cuba. Here he vigorously attacked certain Washington efforts to shift the responsibility for the miscarriage of "Operation Cuba" to the C.I.A. alone. He showed that the President and his staff of advisers, the Defence Department, the State Department and the C.I.A. planned and began the action together.

For this reason it is useful to remember the names of the main instigators in the U.S. government branches. These are from *J. F. Kennedy's* staff of advisers *Harvey Bundy* (Rep.), Professor *Arthur M. Schlesinger* jr. (Dem., history professor and espionage officer) and

15 During the invasion of Cuba there were protest actions in New York and other large cities in the United States: a large number of American professors critizised this aggressive act of the U.S. in a letter to the United States President; in a protest letter to J. F. Kennedy 132 American lawyers called the intervention in Cuba a violation of the laws of the United States and the neutrality law etc.

Professor *Walt Whitman Rostow* (history professor and espionage officer); from the C.I.A. *Allen W. Dulles'* (Rep.), Professor *Richard M. Bissell* and the C.I.A. liaison-officer to the Cuban counter-revolutionaries *Frank Bender;* from the Pentagon the army chief-of-staff General *L. Lyman Lemnitzer,* the navy chief-of-staff *Admiral Arleigh A. Burke* and *J. F. Kennedy's* chief military adviser, parachute troop Lieutenant *James M. Gavin* as well as *Adolph A. Berle,* Latin America coordinator of the State Department. The names of these unscrupulous watchdogs of the leading American monopolies are stained with the blood of the Cuban patriots slaughtered by American bombs and by hired mercenaries.

J. F. Kennedy's role

It is obvious that *Kennedy* was informed in detail of the aggression against Cuba and welcomed this perilous act which jeopardized peace. This fundamental attitude of *Kennedy* toward the Cuban revolution is not surprising. The monopolist group that placed him in the presidency, the Morgan-Trust, lost about 450 Million dollar through the nationalisation and democratisation of the Cuban economy, and has still not renounced these assets.

Brush-fire wars have long been an established part of the *Kennedy* political programme. While still a senator, in 1959, he designated the small war variant as *"certainly the most probable type of military involvement with which we will have to deal in the next decade."*[16] He had barely taken over his responsible office in 1961 when an officially inspired memorandum floated through the general staff which, according to the "New York Times", included the statement:

> *"In order to turn the page of the partisan war* (any popular movement for national freedom and sovereignty – J. M.) *we must find a method to overthrow a communist regime* (any government closely allied with the people – J. M.) *without releasing a general war or even a limited war."*[17]

In direct connection with this statement, *J. F. Kennedy* ordered the speedy doubling of the U.S. Special Forces Groups (military subversion units), that is, precisely those special units which made up the trainers of the Cuban counter-revolutionaries. *Kennedy* did not oppose for a minute the C.I.A. conception already worked out under the *Eisenhower* Government for the attack on Cuba. "President Kennedy *knew D-day in advance, and had approved."*[18] And when President Kennedy also gave his blessing, *Artime* was permitted to announce the news of the invasion to the world. Moreover the activities of the old and new president were not only the same in the manner of their conspiratory planning, the flagrant breach of international law in the Cuba case, but also in their personal attitudes after the aggression was known. After the shooting down of the U 2 near Sverdlovsk in 1960 the U.S. President pretended innocence for days. After the Cuban invasion, *Kennedy* tried also to peddle the lie that apart from "sympathetic feelings" he was in no way connected with the U.S. directed invaders. Under pressure of world opinion and undeniable evidence, however, *Eisenhower* was forced into a partial admission. *Kennedy* did the same in less than a year later.

But this analogy extends still farther. *Eisenhower's* "bumbling and fumbling" policy found its end with the President's covering the U 2 provocateur *Allen Welsh Dulles* in such a way, that he declared espionage to be a part of American state policy, thus shifting the responsibility for the aggressive espionage flights to the government. On April 24, 1961 *Kennedy* in the same way confessed openly to be *"alone responsible for the events of the last days"*, and in particular for the support of the invaders, as his former campaign manager and present Press chief *Pierre Salinger* announced in a written declaration. Since then subversion has been stated to be a principle of the American government's policy, causing the "New York Herald Tribune" to say:

> *"Though it is late, it is, let us hope, not too late to find our way back to the highway from which we strayed."*[20]

16 Interview in "Harper's Magazine", 9. 12. 1961
17 Quoted from "Bundeswehr-Korrespondenz" Bonn, No. 31, 1961
18 "Time", 28. 4. 1961
19 "Die Welt", 6. 5. 1961
20 "New York Herald Tribune", 2. 5. 1961

Less than 100 days of *Kennedy's* term of office had passed before he was caught practicing a brink of war policy. It does not pay to debate whether this simply means continuation of the aggressive policy of the *Eisenhower* government and the Republican Party, or if it must be considered as a new version of this policy originating from the Democratic Party. American policy is decided by the same forces as before. On this point *Walter Lippman* offers the significant opinion:

> *"Under our system of government, unlike the British system, the Chief Executive who makes a great mistake does not and cannot resign. Therefore, if there is to be accountability in our government, the President must hold as responsible those whose contitutional or statutory duty it is to advise him."*[21]

21 ibid.

In November 1961 *A. W. Dulles* was replaced by *John McCone*. But no matter who is director of the C.I.A, it will remain an imperialist institution whose organizational set up empowered it to use all methods to commit crimes, and which has since committed thousands of breaches of law and of contract. The C.I.A. attack on Cuba strengthens the international demand to stop the disastrous activity of the C.I.A.

It is essential always to keep in mind what "Operation Cuba" has made clear: the most aggressive circles of American imperialism will in the future continue to use the government's Secret Service against peace, democracy and socialism.

(From: "Deutsche Außenpolitik" No. 7, July 1961)

Latin America and the United Nations

PETER ALFONS STEINIGER

Developments have shown that the Latin American states are no longer the "calm backyards" of U.S. imperialism. In recent years they ceased to carry out reliably the orders of the State Department in the international arena. Only recently i.e. after the victory of the popular forces in Cuba, the first state on American soil has started the construction of the foundations of socialism. In spite of various kinds of economic dependency, a number of other countries of the subcontinent have simultaneously ceased to be semi-colonial satellite states of the U.S.A. It is a fact, that the masses of the people in all Latin-American countries sympathise with revolutionary Cuba and that the actions of far-seeing bourgeois Latin-American statesmen even within the O.A.S., the former ruling instrument of the U.S.A. over the peoples of that continent, are influenced by this development. The tremendous force of this popular movement is demonstrated by the Latin-American Conference for National Independence, Economic Emancipation and Peace, which was held in Mexico at the beginning of March 1961. Among the 400 delegates and 3,000 participants all democratic forces of all Latin American peoples, including the colonies of the imperialist powers, were represented.

A passage of the unanimously adopted declaration of the conference runs as follows:

"The main force opposing the development of Latin America is U.S. imperialism. Its close alliance with the national oligarchy, the pernicious effects of its economic and cultural infiltration, characterize it to be the cause of the general stagnation prevailing in Latin-America."

The diagnosis is followed immediately by the remedy:

"The defeat of imperialism is the fundamental prerequisite of any plan for the development of our peoples."

However, the representatives of the peoples of Latin-America did not stop at a demand formulated in general terms, only asking for respect of their right of self-determination, but expressed clearly and concretely:

"There is no political independence without economic emancipation. To consolidate it we need: a comprehensive and concrete land reform, in the implementation of which we shall pay particular attention to the Indians; recovery of the national wealth at present in the hands of foreign monopolies; utilization of the main sources of power and of the essential industries, free access to all markets; technical and economic aid without any detrimental conditions attached.

"Our countries are in need of fundamental changes of their political, economic and social structure. These changes are necessary for the conquest of the alarmingly low living standard, of the technical backwardness and for the development of their own culture . . . Consequently we are not in need of such politics of so-called security and defence of the hemisphere, which encroach on our sovereignty, but rather the denouncement of all military pacts and liquidation of all military strongholds of the U.S.A. in Latin-America"

The foundation for the close cooperation and solidarity of all democratic forces in every country and between the peoples of all Latin-American countries, was laid at the Mexico Conference. Cooperation takes place under the awareness of the indivisibility of the Latin-American process of liberation and the consolidation of world peace. Democratic self-determination, equality and the protection of world peace are principles, to which the U.N. had been dedicated by the peaceloving peoples since the victory over German fascism and militarism in 1945. These binding standards of international law are found in the first and second fundamental articles of the charter.

In the new stage of liberation, which has started in Latin America and the world wide significance of which cannot be overestimated, the basic question is the historically and internationally legitimate realisation of the funda-

mental necessity of our era. The fact, that today this development is making its way in the former "backyard" of the leading power of the imperialist camp, is the inevitable reaction of the peoples against the manifold forms of economic enslavement and political blackmail, and when possible – military intimidation by the U.S. and other imperialists.

This reaction could and had to become effective at the present time because of the concerted actions of all those elements of our era, which were exactly defined in the Moscow declaration of December 1960 to be the decisive forces of the socialist world system. Considering the further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, the break-down of the colonial system in Africa and in Asia, the power of the international working class movement within the capitalist countries and such tremendous popular movements as the world peace movement, that means: a power is growing in Latin-America today, which will be victorious in the course of the historic process thus contributing by its actions towards the achievement of international standards, which were laid down in the U.N. charter under the pressure of the peoples and the authority of the Soviet Union. The Hamburg "Die Welt" of June 8, 1961, is *"not surprised"*, if *"the Vienna talks* (between *N. S. Khrushchov* and *J. F. Kennedy* – P.A.S.) *would bring forth a world conference"*, which would either result in a general decrease of international tension or in a break down of the United Nations. But what we expect of the development, initiated by the peoples of Latin America is, on the contrary, the strengthening and uniting of those forces within the U.N. Organisation, which are dead serious about the protection of world peace on the basis of self-determination and equality of all peoples and hence about peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems.

It is well-known that this process is opposed by the imperialists, both on the world level and in the framework of the Latin-American subcontinent. Owing to their weakness, the imperialists are trying again and again, to make a great portion of mankind pay with their lives for the capitalist adventure of a blitz-suicide.

We have no illusions about the economic and other levers, the aggressive circles of the capitalists still have at their disposal, to halt the liberation process in Latin America and which are employed by them, either in a camouflaged or – through sheer necessity – modified form. On the one hand there is the irresistibility of the liberation movement of the peaceloving peoples of Latin America representing their contribution to peaceful coexistence, and to realization of the principles of the U.N. charter. On the other hand there is the danger of imperialist activity. Both must be taken into consideration when valuating the role of Latin America since the foundation of the United Nations.

When in 1945 51 member states founded the U.N., the political and economic dependence of the 20 Latin-American countries on the United States was still so complete, that the U.S. imperialists for years had in their pocket the 20 votes of the Latin-American countries. Considering the ratio 20 out of 51, today it is 20 out of 104 – these 20 votes, so far as they are still reliable followers of the U.S.A., could be looked upon as the basis of the U.S. voting machine in the United Nations Organization.

But this Latin American bloc was not only the longer arm of Washington diplomacy. It was particularly effective, because it worked with particular discretion. From the formal-legal point of view, these countries were not colonial protectorates, but "sovereign" states, legally independent countries though economically and politically dependent. For foreign policy purposes they could be easily labelled as neutral countries. "Equality" and "sovereignty", as unterstood by the United States, in the early days of the United Nations imposed special significance to these states, while in reality this did only express the supremacy of North American financial capital and of the state, ruled by it, the U.S.A.

Thus the Latin-American republics displayed great activity in the U.N. organs. All the time two of the six non-permanent member states of the Security Council (six for the whole world!) were Latin American, all the time four or five of the 18 members of the Economic-

and Social Council came from Latin-American countries. Latin America was always represented in the Trusteeship-Council of the U.N. Organisation. Latin Americans could always be found in the executive of all Special Organizations of the U.N. (ILO, UNESCO, WHO or others). No less than 4 Latin Americans were constantly members of the limited circle of the Hague International Court of Justice. Latin America was always incomparably stronger represented in the apparatus of the General Secretariat, than the socialist camp, although the latter contributed more than three times as much (an argument readily put forward by the imperialists) as the Latin Americans states. Privileged representatives of Latin American governments were also to be found among the presidents and vice presidents of the U.N. General Assembly and these people automatically contributed towards the U.S. influence upon the General Committee which decisively influenced the composition of the agenda of the different sessions. The more dependent and at the same time ostensibly independent, the more welcome – this was the principle, according to which the U.N.-representatives of the U.S.A. directed the employment of Latin-American delegates in the international bodies, the authority of which depended in reality on the reflection of the real international balance of power within their organs.

As long as it executed the orders of the State Department, the Latin-American bloc was still useful to the U.S.A. This was obvious prior to the foundation of the U.N. when the Western powers still found it difficult to openly betray the traditions of the anti-Hitler coalition and to simply oppose the demands of the peoples for a stable and democratic peace organization. This advantage consisted in the following: the U.S. imperialists made their Latin American satellites express their own intentions while they remained in the background. Sometimes they even opposed motions of South American member merely for the preservation of their superficial progressive appearance. On studying the debates of the time of Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco and their evaluation at the Inter-American Conference, one repeatedly comes across Latin American speakers moving particularly reactionary demands, for instance, the limitation of the authority of the Security Council in favour of the U.N. General Assembly with its, then secure pro-imperialist majority; or, the non-introduction or elimination of the Veto of big powers, in other words, of the principle of unanimity of the big powers, which must be the foundation of any organization of peaceful coexistence.

The Latin American bloc was and still is a particularly useful instrument of U.S. diplomacy, with which one could bargain in the U.N. in the interest of U.S. monopolies. Always the United States could make this or that member of the Latin American bloc – let us say the Dominican Republic – submit a proposal and in case of this proposal being rejected, or being likely to be rejected, have some other representative move an "amendment" for the purpose of making genuine counterproposal ineffective, or to force upon the Assembly their own plan after slight modification in the guise of an ostensible compromise.

Generally speaking one may say that up to 1952 the U.S. had in the Latin American bloc a reliable tool for all these manoeuvres particularly in case of voting. This became obvious already on occasion of the admission of Argentina to the U.N. in 1945, the government of which up to the very end of the war had substantially aided German fascism. The diplomatic boycott of Franco Spain was rejected by Latin American representatives in spite af her notorious bad role as a satellite of the Axis Powers. Latin American states voted for the restoration of militarism and imperialism in Western Germany. They supported the misuse of the United Nations in favour of the American invasion of North Korea. They voted for the U.S. aggression against the bourgeois-democratic *Arbenz* regime in Guatemala, for the provocative interference of the imperialists in the 1956 counter-revoltution against the Hungarian People's Republic, for the refusal of the admission of a number of European People's Republics to the U.N., against the establishment of the legal rights of the Chinese

People's Republic in the U.N. During this period the U.S. was still of the opinion that she would act on the strength of her atom bomb-monopoly and base her policy of militant anti-communism on this.

With the change of international power relationships came a certain differentiation of the attitude of the Latin American U.N.-representatives in certain important questions; mainly in colonial problems and economic questions of the underdeveloped countries, particularly effecting Latin American interests. At the 7th General Assembly in 1952, for instance, Uruguay submitted a resolution, giving the economically less developed countries the claim over the exploitation of their own natural resources, a right which for obvious reasons had been denounced by the monopoly powers. In spite of the U.S.A. voting against this resolution, the 15 Latin American countries voted for it and when, in the course of the same session, a motion was submitted on the grant of the right of self-determination to all colonially suppressed countries, the U.S.A. voted against it; in spite of this, the representatives of 17 Latin American countries voted for the motion.

In the course of the following years, the position of the representatives of the Latin American countries in the U.N. in these and in other problems stirring all peoples over the world, such as the demand for disarmament, remained not only the same, it became more and more outspoken. Take for instance the U.N. General Assemblies in 1953, 1954, 1956 and 1957:

In 1953 the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs Senhor *Nérvo* protested against the constantly repeated U.S. thesis that any move of Latin American countries for protection of their national economic interests should be considered to be a sign of "communist infiltration."

In 1954 the representative of Ecuador informed the U.N. General Assembly on behalf of all Latin American countries of certain incidents at a minister's conference for economics and finance of the O.A.S., where the alms policy of the U.S.A. was opposed, the policy of discrepancy between import- and export prices and of enslaving credits.

In 1956, Ecuador, Bolivia and even Guatemala demanded the stabilisation of the prices for raw materials and once again unmasked before the U.N. the unsavoury methods pursued by the U.S. imperialists in the O.A.S.

In 1957, Bolivia protested against economic colonialism of the "industrialised countries". Everybody was aware of, which industrialised countries they had in mind. In the course of the same session, Peru and Mexico protested against the discriminating duty on raw materials introduced by the U.S.A., while Latin American representatives opposed the incorporation of the associated colonial regions into the economic bloc of the European monopolies – the Common Market – in the Trusteeship Council and before the U.N. General Assembly. To make matters still worse for the U.S. monopolies, the Afro-Asian bloc which had been formed in the meantime demanded, in conformity with the Latin American representatives, an investigation of the Common Market which, as is known, is dominated by West German monopolies, a demand bitterly opposed by the imperialist big powers. And finally there were heated arguments between Mexico and the U.S.A., also before the U.N. General Assembly, concerning the violation of Mexico's territorial waters by the U.S.-navy.

As can be seen, opposition of representatives of Latin American countries against the Washington line became more and more frequent and the political significance of this trend became more threatening. The higher developed countries which were economically and consequently also politically more independent, for instance Mexico, showed this attitude in particular. From time to time even the smallest and most dependent countries showed some determination of resistance, countries, which suffered heavily under the colonial yoke and whose representatives were forced by internal popular pressure to oppose the U.S. in certain vital questions, although many of them had been installed and maintained by just these U.S. masters. However, this opposition sometimes was manifested only through speeches or in committees, while these representatives fell in with the U.S.A. when casting

their votes before the General Assembly, or abstained from voting.

Without exaggeration one can say that this "crumbling off" process has intensified during the last two U.N.-sessions, i.e. in 1959 and 1960/61, not only as far as concerning the number of states but to a certain degree also regarding the quality of their attitude. Let us quote only a few examples to illustrate this statement because there exist thorough documentations for that period which can be easily procured, for instance the articles by *Gerd Hoehne* in "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" (German Foreign Policy) No. 2, 1960 and No. 2, 1961, and the "UNO-Bilanz 1960/61" (U.N.-balance 1960/61) published by the German League of the United Nations.

Here are another few references from the last few years: in 1959 some Latin American countries voted together with the Afro-Asian bloc for the self-determination of the Algerian people and against the French A-bomb tests in Algerian Sahara. A number of Latin American countries supported the highly controversial admittance of Poland into the Security Council. Not only Cuba, but also Mexico and Brazil declared themselves in favour of a resolution on the necessity of the industrialisation of the underdeveloped countries, as the only *decisive* economic aid. In supporting the basic principles of the socialist states Venezuela and Uruguay voted with the representatives of the socialist countries in a number of instances.

It goes without saying, that Cuba has been taking sides with the socialist states ever since the national democratic revolution in that country which now moves along socialist lines. But also Mexico, Ecuador, Venezuela and Brazil have backed up anti-imperialist attitudes at the 15th U.N.-General Assembly.

The big test was the reaction to the U.S.-aggression against Cuba. The U.S.A. was no longer supported by the majority of the Latin-American countries. It is true, the United States succeeded in preventing the resolution proposed by Mexico from getting a $^2/_3$ majority, but they could no longer prevent a similar – if much weaker – resolution being moved by seven other Latin American countries and being carried by the U.N.-General Assembly.

In the course of the debates on Angola, on the policy of race discrimination in South West Africa and the historical declaration on the independence of the colonial countries and peoples, which contained esential elements of the comprehensive motion proposed by *N. S. Khrushchov*, the Latin American countries voted against the colonial powers. In 1960 not a single Latin American country voted for the French colonial power, a number of them abstaining from casting their votes.

The tendency to get released from U.S. tutelage became particularly obvious in economic questions immediately affecting the economically underdeveloped Latin American countries. Thus Chile as well as Mexico and Cuba and in a limited way also Peru, Ecuador, Argentina, Uruguay and Bolivia determinedly stood up for capital development funds, a plan which was violently opposed by the imperialists. In a debate concerning the so-called food surplus, the representatives of Uruguay and Argentina openly opposed the representative of U.S.-Canadian monopolies.

> *"The decisive question for the economically underdeveloped countries"*, the representative of Uruguay said, *"does not consist in somebody attempting to feed those people by sending them surplus food, but to put them in a position, to sell their commodities at fair and just prices and so to obtain the currency necessary for the purchase of equipment."*

But this image of progressive differentiation, reflected by the qualitatively new attitude towards Cuba in the new consciousness of the Latin America peoples, is by no means complete. To prevent any kind of self-deception, and to supplement this image it must be stressed, that even those Latin American countries, which are no longer semi-colonial (except the genuinely sovereign Cuba), are not really independent. Indeed, also in 1960/61 the big majority of the U.N.-delegates of the Latin American countries voted with the U.S.A. or supported the imperialist powers by moving amendments. Honduras tried this, for instance, even in the case of the declaration on the independence of the colonial countries and peoples.

Whenever important issues were at stake, for instance the question of peaceful coexistence or the vital question of adaptation of the U.N. apparatus and its organs to the relationship of power in the world of today, the representatives of Latin America still acted as U.S. puppets.

To sum up: The process of differentiation cannot be prevented. The Latin American voting machine of the state department has become unsafe. Numerous are the hindrances and owing to the growing weakness of their positions, the imperialists are increasing the pressure of their still effective economic-political blackmail to the limit. But despite this, the author doubts, whether the U.S.A. can face the decision with reassurance, if, one day, the problem of the illegality of the U.S. strongpoint on Cuba Guantanamo were up for discussion before the U.N. General Assembly.

The ejaculatory sigh of the former U.N.-representative of Haiti, *Alexis Steffen,* is significant even today: *"The representatives of the Latin American countries"*, this diplomat wrote in his memoirs, *"had always to face the possibility of their countries being exposed to all kinds of repressive measures and all kinds of pressure, not only of a political character, but also of an economic and even a military one. He who does not submit to the policy pursued by the U.S.A., risks an intervention of the U.S.A. against his country."*

It is true, this utterance stems from the first half on the last decade. It is no longer valid to its full extent. Because the lesson lecarned from a comparison between the successful U.S. intervention against the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Guatemala in 1954, and the political-military and moral failure of the U.S. intervention against Cuba in 1961, which is moving toward socialism, may show its effects quicker, than many people anticipate. "The Gazette de Lausanne" which can hardly be called progressive, stated in November 1959: *"The influence of Washington upon the countries of the 'Southern Cross' is beginning to deteriorate"*.

(From: "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" Special Edition I/1961)

The Path of Nigeria

OTTO BITTMANN

The Federation of Nigeria which, with its almost 40 million inhabitants has the largest population of all African States, is situated in the Gulf of Guinea, just where the coast of the African continent forms a bend to the South.

As a whole Nigeria is a tropical country, she has, however, by her wide expansion towards the North and South – which amounts to more than 1,000 kilometres – a share in nearly all formations of the African tropics. Mangroves prevail among the coastal flora. An annual quantity of 1,500 millimetres of rainfall and a mean annual temperature of about 80° F. are the prerequisites for the existence of a genuine tropical rain-forest, which begins at Lagos and extends eastwards in a broad strip up to a width of 250 kilometres. Due to the dense population of this zone these virgin forests were, after being cleared, changed into a secondary forest, with the oil-palm becoming the characteristic plant.

The adjoining strip of vegetation in the North may be defined as damp savanna. It consists also of forests, the trees of which throw off their leaves during the dry period (monsoon forest) and gradually turns into open, parklike grassy plains with groups of trees whilst strips of dense forest stretch along the rivers.

With the appearance of thorn bushes, adapted to the dry season, the thorn savanna begins, the grassy plains of which are low and show a fresh green colour only during the rainy season.

The next zone before the transition to the desert is the desert steppe which, in Nigeria, is found only now and then in the surroundings of the Lake Chad.

The differences in climate and vegetation also correspond to the difference in the economic utilization of the country. The largest part of Nigeria's population is engaged in agricultural work and lives chiefly on the cultivation of the soil. There is, in addition, cattle farming in the North which is not possible in the South because of the missing pastures and the existence of the tsetse fly.

In the South tropical tuberous plants such as yams and cassava predominate, in the North millet and pea-nuts. Maize and rice are being grown everywhere, rice chiefly in the south-east and in the Chad area and in addition to these staple foods also vegetables, spices (pepper), fruit (melons, bananas) and the cotton plant.

When, at the turn of the century, the cultivation of the cacao-tree showed its first success on the Western coast, it was also introduced to Nigeria. The most favourable conditions for its cultivation were found outside the belt of the rain-forest, about 100 to 150 kilometres from the coast, in the densely populated districts between Abeokuta and Ibadan. It is still being cultivated here up to the present day.

Compared to Nigeria's big ethnographical differences, the differences in the economic utilization of the country, also with regard to the climate and vegetation, play a comparatively unimportant part. Nigeria has an estimated number of 250 different peoples, tribes and groups who speak different languages and dialects. The four most important of the African languages are: Hausa with 17,5 per cent, Ibo with 16 per cent, Yoruba with 14,4 per cent and the Fulani with 9,6 per cent. These main languages run to a total of 57,5 per cent.[1])

The extension of these languages in the three regions of Nigeria, created arbitrarily by the British colonial bosses in 1951, differs very much. A conformity does not even exist between the first three languages mentioned and the borders of the regions. In spite of it there are centres of certain languages in various regions.

The majority of the Hausa live in the feudal emirates of the Northern region where the Moslem religion predominates. Although little is known about the early history of this people it may be accepted for certain

1 "Frankfurter Allgemeine", 25. 3. 1961

that the formerly heathen Hausa inhabited vast areas of the Northern region before the Moslem Fulani people began to settle there, presumably at the beginning of the 13th century. The Fulani and Hausa mixed to a large extent by marriage; there are only very few pure-blooded Fulani left nowadays, some nomads or a few isolated communities. In the North, where chiefly the language of the Hausa is spoken, still live some isolated heathen groups who outlived the Islamic invasion or were assimilated only in part. The Kanuri of Bornu, for instance, were never overrun by the Fulani.

At the time af Nigeria's conquest by the British the kingdom of the Yoruba in the West was already in decay. It is supposed once to have stretched from the Niger to Dahomey. The tribal organization of the Yoruba differed entirely from that of the Mohammedan emirates. The eastern region is to a large extent populated by Ibo-speaking tribes which, on account of their traditional social structure have no larger communities than the family or clan. In these two southern regions the population mainly consists of Christians and heathens.

Next to this vertical structure of Nigerian society there is also a horizontal one, being brought about by the capitalist development. Not only the national bourgeoisie and the working class developed during this period but at the same time political parties were formed which stamp the face of Nigeria. They shall be characterized here in brief according to their development.

In 1944, the first mass party – the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (N.C.N.C.), headed by *G. Macauley* and Dr. *Azikiwe* – was founded. The party raised in its programme the demand for a political and economic liberation of Nigeria in the historically shortest time. The second party, the Action Group of Nigeria (A. G.), sprang up in 1949 as the result of a political compromise between the feudal masters and the right wing of Nigeria's bourgeoisie. This is the party of the rich farmers who plant cacao, the party of the bankers and the feudal estate owners, that means, of those forces who were interested in an understanding with the United Kingdom.

In 1951, the third large party was founded, the Northern People's Congress (N.P.C.), which represented the interests of the most reactionary defenders of an outlived social system. This party (its founder, *Abmadu Sardauna,* is the representative of feudal nobility), was supported by the British colonial administration and the feudal masters of Northern Nigeria. The Northern People's Congress, however, which appeared to be getting isolated, also had to support the independence of the country, for a new democratic mass party began to grow in 1955 in the North of Nigeria, the Northern Elements Progressive Union (N.E.P.U.). In coalition with the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons this party supported the forming of a federation with a strong central force.

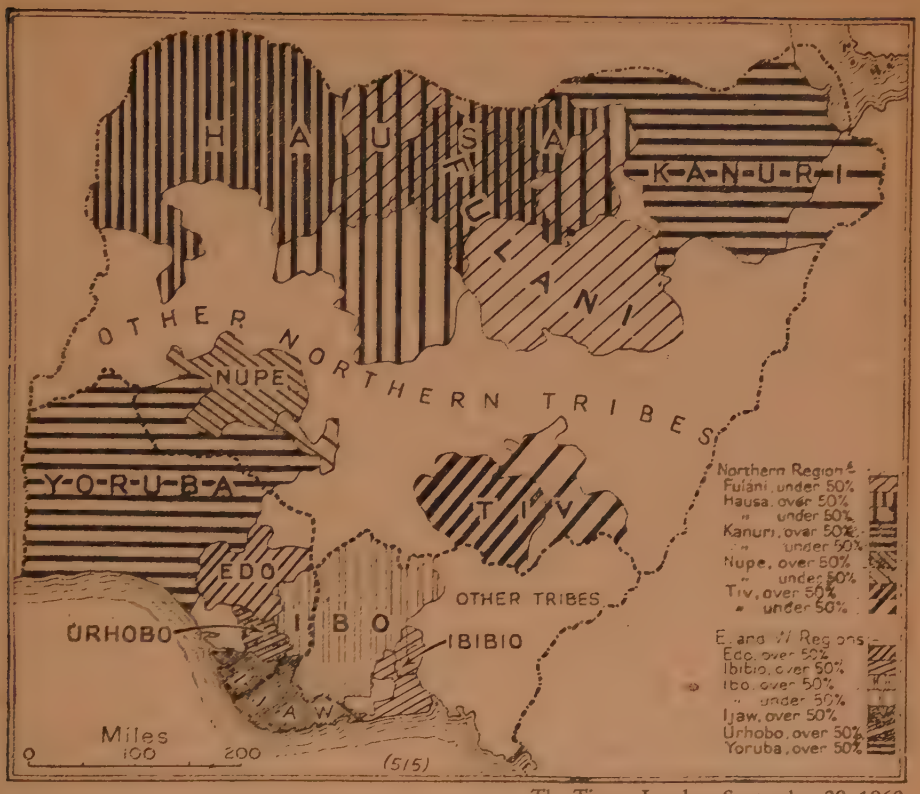
How was the Goal of Independence attained?

From July 1953 to May 1960 about six constitutional conferences were held at which the Britsh Government negotiated a compromise with the political parties of Nigeria.

Already at the first conference a joint demand by the N.C.N.C. and the Action Group for Nigerian self-administration by 1956 was voiced. Great Britain's pretext was that the North was not ready for it but that regional self-administration would be granted to those territories which should want it, however, only under the condition that it should not affect the functions of the Federal Government.

The situation in the Federal Parliament changed, however, after the 1954 elections. Although the reactionary N.P.C. gained the largest number of seats, the N.C.N.C. received the majority of seats in the East as well as in the West. As each region was entitled to three seats in the Council of Ministers, the N.C.N.C. received thus six of the ten seats in the Council of Ministers, but a minority in the assembly. (The tenth seat in the Council of Ministers belonged to the Camerouns.)

The British Government had not expected this outcome. After one of the N.C.N.C. leaders left the party to start a dirty campaign against the allegedly dishonest methods of Dr *Azikiwe* regarding the affairs of the African Continental Bank, the then acting State Secre-



The Times, London, September 29, 1960

tary for the Colonies, *Lennox Boyd* lost no time in appointing a commission for investigations. In the report on the affair, which in reality was only feigned, merely a mild rebuke for *Dr Azikiwe* was the result, who in consequence organized new elections for the assembly of the East in order to test his position. Again he received a large majority.

However, this provocation caused the delay of the next constitutional conference until 1957. At that time the reactionary N.P.C. was no longer able to resist the constantly growing pressure of the Nigerian peoples. The N.P.C. not only decided to stand for regional self-administration in the North by March 1959, it also joined the two other parties in the demand for Nigeria's independence by April 1959.

At the following conference *Lennox Boyd* was now confronted with the joint Nigerian demand for independence. The argument that the North was not ready for it was no longer valid. The only thing which saved *Lennox Boyd* was the insistence of the Action Group on the creation of new regions before Nigerian independence was effected, and that would have meant new obstacles between peoples of the same language. Therefore serious conflicts arose between the political parties, which supplied *Lennox Boyd* with a pretext for further postponing the date for Nigeria's independence.

Following this defeat the Nigerian parties demanded independence by April 1960, but the British Government still refused – although it was finally compelled to name the date for independence viz. the 1st of October, 1960 –

because the Nigerian Parliament was to be elected first, as it was its task to "request" independence from Great Britain.

In the parliamentary elections of December 1959 the Northern People's Congress had the biggest chances. The North received 172 seats (56 per cent) of a total of 312 seats. The area and population of the North actually constituted more than 56 per cent of the whole of Nigeria but as women were refused the vote the total voters in the North were in the minority. Above that, the power of the feudal emirs exercised over the native authorities and the corresponding measures against other parties made it comparatively easy for the N.P.C. to win the majority in the North.

However, no party gained the majority for the whole of Nigeria. The N.P.C. received 142 seats, the N.C.N.C. and its ally, the N.P.U. 89 seats, and the Action Group got 73 seats. The result was a coalition government of the N.P.C. and the N.C.N.C. with *Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa* as Prime Minister. The clever usage of the "Divide and Rule" principle by British imperialism not only made it possible to delay Nigeria's independence by this method but it also managed to a certain extent to gain Nigerian political leaders for a willing co-operation with the U.K.

The so-called Defence Pact with Great Britain

The so-called Defence Pact with Great Britain is a model work of neo-colonialism which pretends to renounce the colonies but which in reality is trying to take a firmer grip on them than before.

Already in Article 83 of the Constitution of Nigeria, drafted in London, exists the extraordinary formulation of the *"mutual, advantageous co-operation of Great Britain and Nigeria in the field of defence"*; it also contains the allegedly unanimous resolution on mutual aid which each country will render *"the other after the proclamation of Nigeria's independence"*. Thus the signing and the ratification of a "Defence Pact" became the *prerequisite* for granting political independence.

The ratification of this pact by the Nigerian Parliament took place on November 19, 1960 and throws a significant light on the deceptive methods which those parties holding the majority in parliament applied, in order to rush the unpopular pact through. The West German periodical "Afrika" reports on this issue:

> *"At the time of the ratification of the Defence Pact it was favourable that France just happened to undertake her third atomic bomb test. For this case France had been threatened by parliamentary decision (motioned by the opposition) with trade boycott and confiscation of property. After the event the French ambassador and his personnel were expelled from the country within 48 hours and Nigerian air- and seaports were probibited for French aeroplanes and ships instantly. The people were also satisfied with this measure. Due to the general enthusiasm about the humiliation of the French no attention was paid to additional demands of the opposition; the unpopular Defence Pact was signed, and Nigeria gained a decisive propaganda success over the 'Pan-Africans' in Casablanca who failed to carry out their threats against France".*[2])

In Article 1 of the Defence Pact mention is made of joint defence, but who would threaten Nigeria, the most highly populated African country, and which also enjoys general respect and authority outside the borders of Africa? Great Britain, however, is a partner of N.A.T.O. and other pacts! Consequently Nigeria can now be included in those military obligations.

It is obvious, that Great Britain is striving for the "defence" of her former colony. For this reason the British are entitled – according to Article 2 – to train the Nigerian army, to supply it with modern weapons and battleships and to give advice with regard to the military and technical sphere in the planning of installations on naval war bases etc. With other words, the Nigerian armed forces will be closely tied to those of Great Britain in organizational, technical and other respects and be almost entirely dependent on them. Such a state of things must naturally effect also the political independence of the country.

The situation becomes even more complicated by Article 3 of the Defence Pact by which Great Britain is granted unlimited rights for

2 "Afrika", III/2, p. 48

the stationing of British aeroplanes on Nigerian territory and for uncontrolled flights over the country. As mentioned by the press Nigeria is driving into a very delicate position for all these reasons: The British Air Force can exploit its bases in Nigeria for starting actions against any African country as well as for the suppression of the national liberation movement in the colonies.

Economic Problems

The Nigerian policy in Africa is closely linked with the policy concerning the industrialization of the country. This is an urgent necessity as 75 years of British colonial rule have kept the country underdeveloped in every field. Now as before the largest part of the inhabitants live on agricultural yields, the small farms being characteristic. There are only very few British plantations and no British settlers at all.

The British imperialists pretend having bestowed a great favour upon the native inhabitants by keeping up the small forms. What, however, induced them to it was anything else but philanthropy.

At the time when British imperialism made Nigeria its colony, the economic life of the West African peoples and tribes was considerably higher developed than in other colonies south of the Sahara. Handicrafts were early separated from agriculture and the production of goods was already well developed. This circumstance was favourably influenced by the fact that European merchants had already for centuries been engaged in lively trade with the peoples on the Guinea coast. Thus the British imperialists were able to exploit the natural resources of Nigeria without having to establish plantations and farming enterprises of their own. Not a small part in the upkeep of small farms was played by the embittered resistance of the peoples and tribes of Nigeria to the intrusion of British imperialism. Besides, the climatic conditions of Nigeria were not suited for the immigration of Europeans.

For these reasons it was neither useful nor possible to expropriate the farms and to replace farm production with plantation production.

The British monopolists maintained the small farms but subjugated them entirely to their own interests. Up to now the peasants have to rear those cultures and produce those raw materials which the metropolis needs most and which yield the biggest profits.[3])

In order to specialise the farms accordingly, all means of economic and other pressure were used: price regulations with special kinds of agricultural production, customs policy, subventions, credit policy and direct pressure.

The interests of the Nigerian peasants demand that the Government adopts measures to abolish the specializing left behind by the British colonial bosses and thus the exploitation of the peasants linked with it. Then it would no longer be necessary to import a large part of the foodstuffs required.

A dicisive modernization of agriculture in which, up to now, the peasants are forced to devote all their energy either to the primitive cultivation of the land for their own demand or to an uneconomic production for export, is another prerequisite for the absolutely essential industrialization of the country.

Influential politicians such as the Minister of Finance of the Federation, Chieftain *Okotie-Eboh,* and the President of the N.C.N.C. and Prime Minister of the Eastern Region Dr *M. I. Okpara,* pursue with regard to industrialization a policy which corresponds to the theory of growth, widely spread in imperialist states. According to this the limiting factor for the extent of construction, which an underdeveloped country is able to accomplish within a certain period, is the so-called savings rate (the average ratio of the saved, not consumed income to the total income).

In a poor country such as Nigeria where the average income per capita amounts to annually only £ 23, which is 14 times less than that of Great Britain, such a method must necessarily lead to very pessimistic conclusions.

The first conclusion is, that fresh capital as far as it exists, is to be used very economically and in such a manner that it offers the greatest opportunities for employing superfluous labour, because the inclusion of not utilized labour in

3 Nigeria exports annually 140,000 tons of cocoa-beans (third-largest producer in the world), 200,000 tons of palm-oil (first producer in the world), 800,000 tons of pea-nuts (also first producer in the world), and other agricultural products

the production – even at a very low wage level – is the best method of increasing the production and the average income per capita of the population. In order to achieve this result workers must be furnished with the cheapest tools, as these tools, even with a limited capital, can be produced in large quantities. In addition, such branches of industry must be chosen for development which need comparatively little capital in relation to the number of vacant jobs resulting.

If, due to the use of such advice only a slow pace of growth is achieved and increases the contrast between Nigeria and the rich countries of the capitalist world system, this only proves – according to the capitalist theory – how important it is to employ a generous flow of foreign capital and to undertake nothing which might rebuff private enterprise. In this connection the nationalisation of industry is feared most.

Another conclusion is that mass consumption must be limited in order to give the capitalists more income from which they can "save".

It is a matter of course that such a policy does not serve the interests of the Nigerian people. Apart from its negative internal effects it must also deprive Nigeria of control of its own foreign policy whereby it might be compelled to adopt the position of its imperialist financiers in international political questions. Nigeria's attitude towards the liberation struggle of the African peoples shows that such fears are not altogether baseless.

Nigeria's Part in Africa

The part the national bourgeoisie of a country plays in foreign politics depends mainly on two factors: for one thing, the extent to which the bourgeoisie is economically and politically allied with imperialism and for another, the extent of pressure the masses of the people are able to exert. This explains also the discrepancy of the Nigerian policy in Africa.

On one side the political leaders have to take into consideration the feeling of solidarity of the Nigerian people, on the other hand they try to weaken the anti-imperialist united front of the peoples of Africa.

That diplomatic relations with France were broken off was mentioned before. No matter what reflections induced the Nigerian Government to take this step, it is evident that it met a demand of the people and that this measure served peace. Nothing more, however, was heard of the Nigerian sanctions which were announced in case of a further atomic bomb test to take place at the end of April 1961. Very likely this reserve is in line with a development which may be described as an approach towards the Brazzaville group of states. In December 1960, twelve states formerly under French colonial rule, had met in Brazzaville to discuss questions of African co-operation. It marks the present strength of the unity against imperialism, that also the Brazzaville group pretended wanting to conduct its discussions from the angle of African solidarity. It was stressed, however, at the same time that this solidarity should not be expressed by creating supranational institutions but by inter-state "cooperation"; at the same time cooperation with France and the other imperialist states was supported, and no interest was shown in supporting the struggle against colonial rule in other African countries; it completely ignored the problem of neo-colonialism and approved the policy of the separatist governments in the Congo Republic (Léopoldville).

In the first half of February 1961 the Brazzaville group of states delegated one of its most active representatives, *Leopold Senghor*, President of the Republik of Senegal, to the independent West African states in which English is being spoken. It was *Senghor's* task to sound the terrain in order to find out whether a union of those states with the group of Bazzaville might be possible.

After official comments on his talks in Lagos nobody was surprised that it was Nigeria again which summoned the conference of Monrovia which took place in the first half of May, 1961. All African states attended this conference with the exception of the Casablanca Powers, who oppose imperialism in Africa. May it be a coincidence or not – it is a fact that those 21 states which met in Monrovia raised no other demands as those which even the U.S.A. was able to approve of or which it might, dema-

gogically, have raised itself. One resolution read that Portugal was wasting her time when she believed that any African territory might be a European province. Furthermore the delegates agreed to decide on *"practical and effective measures"* against the South African apartheid. In addition the delegates demanded the cessation of all atomic tests and supported the Algerian Independence Movement.[4])

All this must be understood correctly: Naturally, these demands are of a progressive character. To insist on their realisation is the right and the duty of all African peoples. The chief danger for Africa, however, is neo-colonialism.[5]) This is not mentioned with a single word. On the contrary: *"Every conception of unity"*, it is said on the question of the unification of the African peoples in the struggle against imperialism, *"is completely unrealistic if it results in ending the sovereignty of any African State"*.[6])

It must be stressed once more that neo-colonialism is the chief danger for the sovereignty of the African States no matter how it may be camouflaged. It is neo-colonialism which undermines the national sovereignty of the African States, and attempts to force them to give up their policy of neutrality.

How things will develop depends essentially on whether this danger will be recognized in Africa itself or not.

The Working Class in Nigeria Begins to Form

In this situation especially the working class of Nigeria bears a great responsibility. It is still small in number, one reason being that wage and salary earners embrace hardly more than 250.000 persons in the whole of Nigeria, of whom more than 150.000 are organized in trade unions. Despite the debility in the number, it has a prominent share in the national liberation struggle. It is not exaggerated to state that it was and is the most determined and progressive force. One example may be mentioned here.

On the 7th of November, 1949 the miners of the pits near Enugu called on a strike and a go-slow-movement. The workers demanded an increase of wages which should meet at least the existence minimum. The mining management, however, categorically refused to negotiate on wage increases and began sacking the miners. When they opposed this measure the management decided on November 17, to close the shafts, whereby the police fired at the miners who behaved in a disciplined manner. This Bloody Friday in Enugu released such a storm of indignation all over the country that those who organized it got frightened.

All strata of the population united in action against the economic exploitation of the country and the people by the colonialists as well as against the political rule and they demanded independence. After an agreement between the various social organisations, political parties and groups, a few days after the events in Enugu a Special National Committee was founded in Lagos, the capital of Nigeria, in which representatives of the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroun held the leading posts. The Committee organized numerous demonstrations and protest meetings against the bloody crimes of the colonialists. It demanded the oppointment of a neutral commission for the investigation into the events of Enugu and it insisted on bringing the English officers, which took part in the shooting, before court.

On November 27, 1949 a mass meeting was held in Lagos, attended by representatives of various strata of the Nigerian people. The speakers at the meeting declared that order would be given by the leaders of the Special Committee to use force in the struggle against force if the authorities would not take steps for the punishment of those guilty of the shooting in Enugu. Numerous attendants of the meeting demanded to immediately start mass rebellions against the colonialists. In the course of the struggle the leaders of the Special Committee published a declaration pointing out that Great Britain must immediately hand over the

4 The U.S.A. would be sure to welcome Algeria being politically independent of France but ruled by herself in a neo-colonialist manner

5 See also the article by Horst Brasch: The Third All-African Peoples' Conference, in "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" No. 6/1961. Quoted from the bourgeois Hamburg paper "Die Welt", 13. 5. 1961

administration of the country to the representatives of the Nigerian people.

Thus the events of Enugu became the beginning of a big rise in the national liberation movement whose active force was the Nigerian proletariat which was supported by the large mass organisations and the political parties of the country. The rise of the liberation movement caused by this struggle compelled the British Government to a retreat in the vital question – the question of the political status of the country.

Because they feared the working class the English imperialists and the internal reactionary forces allied to them then tried their utmost to split the working class. They also succeeded at times. Only by 1954 the Trade Unions regained their strength by forming the All-Nigerian Trade Union Federation (A.N.T.U.F.) under the leadership of *Michael Imoudo* and *Gog Nzeribe*. But since their foundation the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.) and the General Council of the T.U.C. persisted in their endeavours to prevent this growing unity. The A.N.T.U.F. negotiated with different-minded forces and they succeeded in reaching agreements on forming a United Nigerian Trade Union Federation.

In consequence the (I.C.F.T.U.) and the General Council of the British T.U.C. increased their activity aimed at splitting the workers which ended with the foundation of a rival trade union centre. Therefore, two trade union centres exist at present, the militant Nigerian T.U.C. and the reactionary T.U.C. of Nigeria. The large majority of the trade union members is organized in the militant Nigerian T.U.C. but this splitting of the movement is still a serious obstacle to joint actions.

Trade with Socialist Countries

A review dealing with the path taken by Nigeria would not be complete if attention was not paid to the latest development concerning her relations with the socialist countries.

Up to a few months ago Nigeria had no relations whatever with the Socialist countries apart from a few unimportant export deals.

Corresponding to a demand of the people which was voiced by the Nigerian T.U.C., diplomatic relations between Nigeria and the Soviet Union were established in April 1961. According to informations the same relations will be taken up with Czechoslovakia.

The facts of life have also convinced the leading politicians that a one-sided connection of Nigeria with the imperialist states is not only contrary to the principles of neutrality but that, above this, such an attitude would be of great economic disadvantage to the country. This insight was specially noted in this year's budget speech by the Minister of Economy, *Dipcharima*, which was extensively reported on by the "Frankfurter Allgemeine" on May, 16, 1961. After having dealt with the stand of industrialization, *Dipcharima* expressed his dissatisfaction with export proceeds and blamed the imperialist industrial countries for it. The minister declared that it was an unbearable situation that the industrialized countries enjoy a boom whilst at the same time the countries supplying the raw material experience a depression.

The general decline of export prices for all main products continued also in 1960. Due to this decline the export proceeds stagnated on the level of the previous year, despite a quantitative increase in export. The deficit in the trade balance of last year reached £ 50 million, 20 million to the credit of Japan.

The "Frankfurter Allgemeine" continues in its report:

> *"Nigeria intends sending a delegation to the most important countries of the world in order to open up new markets for her export and to purchase foreign capital for her industrialization. Nigeria also hopes for a trade expansion with her products in the countries of the Eastern bloc. (The Socialist countries – O. B.) Furthermore, Nigeria hopes for international economic merger within Africa: for one thing the territorial consolidation in Western Africa – which, politically has moved into the far distance – and for another thing, for an international cartel of cocoa producers which also has its inconvincible opponents. It is understandable that*

Nigeria is vexed about the joint foreign trade tariff of the E.E.C. countries as well as about the apparant disability of the G.A.T.T. organisation to break through these regulations."

The Nigerian Minister of Economy finally declared that Nigeria was looking for honest trading partners and growing markets in the industrialized countries of the world, regardless of their political structure.

The visit of a Nigerian trade delegation to some socialist countries must be viewed from the aspect of the difficulties expressed here. It was led by the same Minister of Finance, *Okotie-Eboh,* who had been making special endeavours for British, American and Israeli investments of capital and who was mentioned before in another connection. *Okotie-Ebob* declared after the conclusion of his talks in Moscow that a basis for cooperation had been established. Nigeria will supply the U.S.S.R. with her products and purchase industrieal equipment and agricultural machines.

It will depend on Nigeria whether it will make further use of the immense possibilities offered by trading with the Socialist States. This trade could mean a decisive help in confirming her national independence in all spheres of life.

(From: "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" No. 8, 1961)

CONFERENCES AND CONGRESSES

The Aggression of German Fascism against the U. S. S. R.

That was the topic of a joint German-Soviet congress of scientists which was held in Berlin on June 21 on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the German fascist invasion into the U.S.S.R. The congress was organized by the Commission of Historians of Germany and the U.S.S.R. and the Central Council of the German–Soviet Friendship Society. Among the people attending the congress was the leader of the Soviet delegation of scientists, Major-General Dr. *I. A. Boltin,* deputy director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; representatives of the Soviet embassy and of the Supreme Command of the Soviet troops temporarily stationed in the German Democratic Republic; the German side was represented by delegates of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and of the parties in the G.D.R., by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, *Paul Wandel* and the President of the Society of German Historians, Prof. Dr. *E. Engelberg.*

After introductory speeches made by Prof. Dr. *Leo Stern,* chairman of the German section of the Commission of Historians of the G.D.R. and the U.S.S.R. and *Fritz Beyling.* Secretary of the Central Council of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, Major-General *Boltin* and Admiral *W. Verner,* Deputy Minister of National Defence made comprehensive speeches as representatives of their countries, scientifically analysing the events during those years and showing the relation between the past and present.

Under the motto "The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union against fascism – a just war of the people for the defence of the socialist state and of the cause of the whole of humanity", Major-General *Boltin* drew a comprehensive picture of the gigantic struggle between German fascist imperialism, the spearhead of world imperialism, and the first socialist country of the world, stating among other things:

> *"In this war fascism did not only pursue imperialist aims of conquest, but also an aim of the capitalist class i. e. the elimination of the first socialist state of the world."*

Correctly assessing the twin aims of German fascists and of international reaction, Soviet foreign policy pursued two goals from the year in which the starting signal was given, i.e. in 1939:

1. the division of the anti-Soviet front of world imperialism;
2. safeguarding of peace for the U.S.S.R.

In this connection Major-General *Boltin* stressed once more, that the German-Soviet non-aggression pacx of August 23, 1939 constituted the only chance: firstly, to prevent an anti-Soviet crusade; secondly, to win time. On the other hand he did not conceal the fact, that the imperfect defensive power of the U.S.S.R. in June 1941 was due to a wrong judgement of the foreign political and military situation through Stalin. The initial successes of the aggressors which were due to this and numerous other facts, did, however, not lead to the collapse of the U.S.S.R., as was the case with the attacked capitalist states, but solely to a severe and supreme testing of socialist society. With impressive words Major-General *Boltin* reminded those imperialist forces who are again dreaming of being able to unleash still another war without bearing the consequences, of the fate of their predecessors of June 22, 1941 and pointed in this connection at the changed relationship of power between socialism and imperialism as the historic conse-

quence of the victory of the Soviet Union in World War II.

Among the many interesting formulations contained in *Boltin's* survey of the historic and world political significance of the Great Patriotic War, the role of the Soviet army as "punishing and liberating force" is particularly striking: Punishing the imperialist aggressors, liberating the suppressed classes and nations!

Admiral *Verner* in his speech: "The attack of Hitler Germany on the Soviet Union – the biggest crime of German history", concentrated on the militarily exact proof of German militarism having stood and standing no chance against socialism.

The historical evidence gained in the course of two world wars, showed, that German militarism is always discernible by three features:

1. particular aggressiveness,
2. extravagance of aims, and
3. a tendency of putting all hopes on one decisive battleblow.

He attributed this particularly adventurous character of German militarism to three causes:

1. the contradiction between its military and economic power and the small sphere of influence, in which connection it may be observed, that the aggressiveness increases with the shrinking of the sphere of influence;
2. the fear of the monopoly bourgeoisie of the German working class movement and
3. the constant lack of time, caused by the stronger potential of the opponents, forcing German militarism to strike on the instant, when it has reached the biggest relative lead in armament, even if its own absolute armament standard has not reached its highest level.

German militarism, defines Admiral *Verner,* made its wars though being aware of its potential inferiority and for fear of the developments to come. In connection with *Lenin's* thesis, saying that somebody who is on the way to his doom cannot have a correct judgement, Admiral *Verner* revealed the inability of German militarists to realistically value the situation. He quoted examples from the period of the preparation of World War I but above all he impressively quoted the wrong judgement of the fascist general staff before and during the invasion into the Soviet Union, contained in the service diary of *Halder,* chief of the Hitler general staff.

Admiral *Verner* avoided the mistake of characterizing the German militarists as incapable idiots, but very thoroughly analysed their strong points and weaknesses. He particularly indicated their underestimation of the resources of the Soviet Union, not centering on the quantitative aspects i.e. the armament potential of the country and its material resources, but on the qualitative aspects i.e. the moral resources of the Soviet forces and the ability of socialist society to exploit the existing means to a maximum degree. The speaker characterized the following perception as the most important lesson learned from the June 22, 1941: Since the Soviet Union was able to cope with their invaders 20 years ago, when it was completely isolated and the imperialist aggressors had a temporary superiority, then the excessive strength of the socialist camp today renders it invincible.

Admiral *Verner* repudiated the speculations of the "ultras" around *Strauss* who think that on the strength of their N.A.T.O.-membership they will be safe from an attack in the rear and – for the first time – be able to conduct an one-front-war i.e. exclusively against the East. He remarked in this connection that such a speculation does not hold water and that any attempt of the German militarists to unleash a third world war would come up against the determined opposition not only of the socialist camp, but of all peaceful democratic forces in the whole world, compelling them to fight on several theatres of war.

However, to prevent the outbreak of a war it is necessary to keep German militarism in check not by a war, as in the past, but before the outbreak of a war.

The conclusion of a peace treaty is the prerequisite for the taming of German militarism. The conclusion of a peace treaty will narrow the opportunities of the Bonn "ultras" for provocations, among other things by excluding from international discussion problems like the West Berlin question or sham problems like

the Oder/Neisse frontier, which have been stressed and magnified by Bonn for the purpose of kindling a war hysteria.

Both the main reports were supplemented by several short lectures. Colonel *Schwab* of the Potsdam Institute of German Military History spoke on the role of the big war manoeuvres of the fascist Wehrmacht and Federal army as preliminary stages for a concentration and planning of operations, and as a means for testing the methods of the planned aggression. The Soviet Major-General *Fokin,* member of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and editor of the 2nd volume of the History of the Patriotic War of the Soviet Union made interesting statements on the first period of the great patriotic war, which considerably enhanced our perception of that period. The retired Major-General Dr. *Korfes,* chairman of the Association of former Officers impressively described his and his comrades way to the National Committee Free Germany casting interesting sidelights on the way of thinking and the mentality of the German officers' corps. Dr. *Rosanow* of the Moscow Academy of Foreign Policy spoke of Hitler Germany having been not only completely beaten from the military point but also diplomatically during the Second World War. In this connection he dealt with the formation of the anti-Hitler coalition and stressed the fact, that the events not only confirmed *Lenin's* thesis of peaceful coexistence, but also proved the possibility of an alliance between two states of different social-economic structure. In conclusion he stressed that in spite of all complications and contradictions, the anti-Hitler coalition stood up to this historic test, thanks to the decisive role of the Soviet Union in this alliance. Dr. *Doernberg* of the Institute of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany made a number of remarks concerning the participation of German anti-fascists in the Great Patriotic War and evaluated their participation as proof of the effectiveness of proletarian internationalism and the organizing power of the Communist Party of Germany. In the participation of German anti-fascists in the fight of the Soviet army during the Second World War, elements of the German-Soviet brotherhood in arms of today were already discernible.

(From: "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" No. 9, 1961)

BOOK REVIEW

"Bwana, Deine Zeit ist um" (Bwana, Your Time is Over)

by Fritz Ferdinand Müller

Kongress-Verlag Berlin 1960

The weeks and months following the aggression of the Belgian colonialists and their N.A.T.O. friends against the newly independent Congo State have brought the imperative "No" of all Africans and the peace-loving people all over the world to any further imperialist schemes designed to maintain colonialism either in old or modern forms. The imperialists unmasked themselves by their colonial and neo-colonial manoeuvres, and the anti-imperialist liberation movement of the African peoples has been given an enormous impetus. During the attack on the Congo, the apologists of imperialism, time and again tried to disguise their intentions with demagogical phrases. In their typical colonial jargon they slandered the African liberation movement as a *"throw-back to barbarity"* and the leaders of the anti-imperialist national movement for independence as *"savages incapable of governing themselves"*. Above all, however, there is one method used by the imperialist conspirators in all their acts of agression and terrorist outrages: to spread lies about alleged African murder plots threatening the lives of the white population. By means of such manoeuvres, the British extremist settlers and their colonial government in 1952 tried to cover up the cruel suppression of the people of Kenya engaged in a merciless struggle for independence and better living conditions. With the same deceitful slogans the Belgian opressors and their N.A.T.O. allies wanted to quiet the workers and all democratic forces in their own countries during their aggression against the Republic in 1960.

Also West German newspapers have been doing their best to justify the crimes committed by Belgian colonialists by telling their readers stories of an alleged African assault on the white population. The Hamburg paper "Bildzeitung" for example, in its edition of July 9th, 1960, chose the following headline for its report on the attack upon the Congo State: *"Black mutineers chasing and raping white women"*.

This fairy-tale about the fanatical and bloodthirsty natives threatening, like cannibals, the life of the civilized white man, is produced whenever it is necessary to conceal fascist and criminal methods which are used to put African peoples in chains. In March 1959, it was the semi-fascist Welensky government in the Central African Federation which resorted to a lie as a pretext for massacring the people of Nyasaland. The methods are the same!

The working masses of the German Democratic Republic, whose desire it is to help the Africans in their fight for independence, have been demanding more and more publications informing them about the impressive anti-imperialist and democratic actions of the African peoples and exposing the background, the methods and the false propaganda of the neo-colonialist imperialist powers including West Germany.

With the book "Bwana, Deine Zeit ist um – Der Freiheit Flamme brennt im Herzen Afrikas" (Bwana, Your Time is Over – The Flame of Freedom is Burning in the Heart of Africa) by *Fritz Ferdinand Müller* the publishers (Kongress-Verlag Berlin) have made an excellent choice. This easily understandable book on the history and the heroic struggle of the peoples of Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia has just come out in time. In 1953 these three

regions were forced under the semi-fascist dictatorship of Sir *Roy Welensky's* Central African Federation. Many of the methods and oppressive measures carried out there by British colonialism are identical with those practised in Congo or in other countries still under colonialist rule. The reader of this highly topical book, which is based upon the latest information available, will learn about the thievish aims and the criminal actions of neo-colonialism. He will sympathize passionately with the just struggle for liberation waged by the peoples of the Central African Federation. He will not finish the book without coming to the conclusion that the German Democratic Republic as part of the socialist camp is a true friend of the African peoples and that the West German state of militarists and imperialists is, and is bound to be, an enemy of these peoples – in spite of its "anti-colonialist" camouflage. The reason for this fact lies first of all in the different character of the social-economic systems of the two German states.

The author is known as an expert on imperialist colonial policy by his former publication "Deutschland, Zanzibar, Ostafrika" ("Germany, Zanzibar, East Africa" – Berlin 1959 –, an extensive historical treatise on the colonialist policy of German imperialism in East Africa.

It is, therefore, particularly praiseworthy that he dedicates one major chapter of his new book to the establishment of British colonialist rule on the debris of the mighty African Matabele Empire revealing in this connection the real background of those events by dealing with the distortions propagated by the apologists of imperialism.

In particular the author unequivocally refutes such allegations as *"Africa virtually does not show any signs of a native civilization, and the Africans are incaple of achieving any social progress out of their own faculties, they are without culture or history"* (pp. 18 et seq.) spread with an incredible impudence by old and contemporary colonialist publicists. He rebuts these apologetic theses by means of concrete facts out of the historical evolution of the peoples of Rhodesia and gives as examples the Empires of Monomotapa (peak: 12th to 16th century), Zululand, above all, Matabele (19th century). In the precolonial period, which ended at different times at different places (generally speaking, its end lies between the Portuguese conquests in the 15th and the imperialist colonial policy at the end of the 19th century), many African peoples had reached a high level of development, which stands any comparison with the one enjoyed by other countries, even some European ones. *F. F. Müller* characterizes these old-African Empires clearly as big feudal states with a high cultural standard. Same as all African feudal empires south of the Sahara, also those of Zulu and Matabele were obstructed in their progress, and their development was interrupted upon the arrival of the European colonialist oppressors. Challenging the slanderous theses of the colonial propagandists, only the white colonialist had provided the decisive impulse for the "further development of the Negro race", the author stresses on page 20:

"The most advanced African Negro Peoples – amongst them without a doubt the Zulu and Metabele – were, compared with the development in Europe, in the early Middle Ages of their history. At that moment European colonialism came upon them. This was like a catastrophe. The colonial regime interrupted Africa's own specific development from low forms of social production and organization to higher ones. The blessings of white civilization reached the Africans in the form of murder, looting, slave trade and exploitation".

Perhaps it would have been desirable if the author – further to his statements that early feudal systems are only seldom stable (p. 15) and that the aristocracy are continuously engaged in revolts against the central power – had gone into more details when explaining the "why", the reasons for this state of affairs.

On the other hand the author has been very successful in making clear the causes of the rapid defeat of the Matabele in spite of their heroic resistance to the colonialist troops and the betrayal on the part of the South African finance-oligarchy under *Cecil Rhodes'* leadership.

The Marxist method has the power to refute the theses spread by the apologists of colonialism on the "natural inferiority of the black people" by means of scientific arguments. The author is right in stressing (p. 37) that the clash between the Rhodes group on one hand and the Matabele on the other represented a clash between two social formations, between that of advanced capitalism and that of an early feudalism. Taking into account the economic and military superiority of the imperialist forces, there could be no doubt as the outcome of this struggle.

Chapter II deals with the "benefits" in the form of misery, famine diseases, and – above all – exploitation (pp. 58 et seq.), which colonialism has brought to the peoples of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It would mean going beyond the scope of this review to repeat the very explicit facts of the book, which will stir the conscience of any honest reader. We can dwell on a few problems only, but we can assure the author that his fear, the reader might not be able to recognize sufficiently enough the human pain and the exploitation of the Africans behind the figures quoted in this chapter, is unjustified. His startling words and examples will bring home to everybody the nature of imperialist colonial exploitation in various fields.

A lot of vague ideas are often to be found regarding the essence and the background of racial discrimination as it is practised by the colonialists. In a complete distortion of the truth, this discrimination is described by today's apologists of colonialism as "black racism". *F. F. Müller* contradicts these hostile and false conceptions by clearly characterizing the nature of the race problem. Racial discrimination, with it abundance of forms in all fields of life, is the main political und ideological means for maintaining the economic domination of the white Bwanas:

> *"Only the political, cultural and social rape, only the continuous terrorizing of the overwhelming majority of the population by the unscrupulous and brutal 5 per cent Bwana minority allows the colonialist monopolies the possibility of keeping the Africans' wages at such a low level that even the term 'starvation wage' is too good". (p. 72)*

However, the national-democratic and T. U. organizations of the African independence fighters have never been anti-white in their demands, but only anti-colonial. In reply to the then fresh discriminations on the part of the bourgeoisie and the farmers of the Central African Federation the leadership of the Northern Rhodesia African Mineworkers' Union (NRAMU) stated in 1953:

> *"Our answer to the arrogant regime of the Bwanas can and must never be an African racism". (p. 104)*

And Dr. *Hastings Banda*, the leader of the Nyasa patriots, has in numerous statements advocated peaceful cooperation between his people and the white settlers and bourgeois under a democratic majority government of the native population which, however, would decree the discontinuation of any racial discrimination of the "coloured" people by the former servants of colonialism.

In connection with the neo-colonialist "true partnership" humbug the author says: *"Intellectually, the colonialist regime of our times lives only by confusing the conceptions. It praises tyranny as freedom, misery as welfare, and racial discrimination as partnership"* (p. 101). So it is not at all surprising that precisely Sir *Roy Welensky* – notorious for his pursuance of a fascist apartheid policy similar to that of the Republic of South Africa – presents himself as an apostle for the protection of the white Bwanas against an alleged to excess of "black racism".

In his concluding remarks the author observes correctly that his book has practically no end, because the peoples of Rhodesia and Nyasaland have not yet succeeded in shaking off the colonial yoke. A great many of the forms, methods and actions of their battle for freedom referred to particularly in chapter III, the mighty strikes and uprisings of the Northern Rhodesian copper miners can easily be supplemented by events in 1960 and 1961. By its clear approach to the character of the independence movement in the Central African Federation within the past years the book will enable every reader to understand also the more recent stages of their struggle for freedom

and to recognize the continuous lies and manoeuvres of the colonialists.

The author concludes his book with the statement that *Welensky's* policy of racial discrimination has ended in failure. The final victory of the peoples of Nyasaland is a historic law and cannot be evaded. But also here – in the Central African Federation – British imperialism is seeking to maintain its economic and part of its political privileges by means of minor concessions. This is the explanation for the "differences" reported between *Welensky* and *Macmillan* on the occasion of the latter's visit to the Federation in January, 1960. *Welensky* in pursuing a policy of open racial discrimination – the same as the reactionary *Verwoerd* government in the Republic of South Africa.

The British monopolists and their neocolonialist counterparts in the United States and in West Germany are afraid of a mighty democratic popular movement, which would not even halt in front of the intangible privileges of foreign monopolies. By means of minor political concessions the British imperialists try to keep their former colonies at all costs within their sphere of economic influence, within the Commonwealth. This becomes evident, for instance, in the British policy with regard to Ghana and Nigeria or in such "constitutional" concessions or other "constitutional" swindles as have been cooked up by the former British Colonial Secretary *Macleod* in the case of Kenya and Nyasaland.

Such news as were reported in the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" of March 15th, 1960 which openly speaks of an "urgent trend towards flexibility" on the part of *Macmillan* and *Macleod*, of a so-called reformist attitude on the part of Western big business "adapting itself to the avalanche-like changes", are, therefore, not at all surprising. What the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" forgot to mention is that all these reforms fought for in bloody struggles by the masses of the peoples are nothing but a demagogical pretence for the salvation of endangered monopolist profits. This is true of both political and socio-economic measures, such as certain wage increases, the suspension of some of the worst practices of racial discrimination which by the way in many cases had proved to be of hindrance to an increase in the productivity of labour.

On account of public pressure in the Central African Federation *Dr. Hastings Banda* had to be released. The restraint on the part of the Nyasa Congress and the leaders of the national independence movement shown by *F. F. Müller* by examples from past years is noticeable also in Dr. *Banda's* words after his release:

> *"Not at all do I favour violence. Results can only be obtained through negotiations"*.[1]

As it is demonstrated in the book, by the example of the heroic struggle of the Nyasa people from February to May, 1959, the working masses of Nyasaland (and of both Rhodesias) adapt their methods of fighting to the requirements of the situation given. At present this situation is given by the open support rendered by the notorious Prime Minister of the Central African Federation, Sir *Roy Welensky*, to the Belgian aggressors in the Congo. It was *Welensky*, who – as early as in March, 1960, in an interview with the "Daily Express" – demanded the separation of the mineral-rich Katanga province from the rest of the Congo State with the aim, of course, of subjugating it to the British and U.S. monopolies in Northern Rhodesia. The very same *Welensky* tries to put down every declaration of solidarity between the suppressed African population of the Federation and the just struggle of their Congolese brothers in blood and iron. According to newspaper reports from July, 1960, big popular demonstrations in Salisbury were followed by a wave of arrests, in the course of which 180 Africans were imprisoned. Other demonstrators were beaten by the police and dispersed with tear gas. At the same time ten thousands of workers were striking at Bulawayo. Nobody can doubt that also for the population of the Central African Federation, admittedly a "prison house of peoples", the hour of freedom is not far away – in spite of the savage resistance of the colonialists. *Theodora Büttner*

1 "Hamburger Abendblatt", April 8th, 1960

"Schuld der Weissen? – Die Spätzeit des Kolonialismus" (The Fault of the White Man? – The Late Years of Colonialism)

by Wahrhold Drascher

Verlag Fritz Schlichtenmayer, Tübingen (Neckar) 1960, 327 p.

On official occasions, representatives of the West German state like to assert the "anti-colonial" attitude of the Federal Republic: Germany lost her colonies as early as in 1919, they say, and her participation in the colonial policy, therefore, was only a short and negligible episode in German history. This argument is all but plausible; for the suppression and plundering of other peoples does in no way depend upon the possession of colonies. German imperialism with its allegedly unobjectionable record also today takes an active part in colonialism.[1]

No wonder that Adenauer's propagandists are using the same colonial theories, by means of which the apologists of German imperialism succeeded in deceiving many working-class people of this country before the First and Second World War. It is true that the pressure exerted by the masses of the West German people forced finance capital to revise the ideological basis of its colonial policy in a certain respect. But this does not alter the fact that the apologists of West German neo-colonialism are resorting today to the very same worn arguments as the colonial propagandists did under the Kaiser and the Fuehrer – to the so-called applied political geography by *Ratzel* and *Haushofer*, to the racism of *Gobineau* and *Chamberlain*, to the wolf's philosophy by *Nietzsche* and *Spengler*, and to the reservoir of anti-Communist slanders.

Drascher's book is particularly typical for this continuity in the colonial propaganda of German imperialism. In 1936, the same author came out with a publication entitled "Die Vorherrschaft der Weißen Rasse" ("The Supremacy of the White Race"), the study of which was declared obligatory on all Nazi ideologists by the Instruction Department of the Colonial-Political Office of the Nazi Party (NSDAP). The book, the title of which speaks for itself, praises *Hitler* as the *"saviour of the Occident from the storms brewing in Asia and Africa"*. At that time, in 1936, *Drascher* still could afford to openly beat the drum for a *"joint crusade of the white powers"* against the anti-colonial popular movements (cp. *W. Drascher:* "Die Vorherrschaft der Weißen Rasse", Stuttgart – Berlin 1936, p. 273). The far-reaching changes, which have since taken place in the international balance of power, as well as the new situation in Germany forbid him to propagate the imperialist plunder schemes today in the same naked manner. The new slogan reads: "Partnership with the underdeveloped countries", although – as it is expressly stressed by the author – under the leadership of the imperialist powers:

> *"The period beginning now will bring the decision whether the West – in spite of having lost the political control – will succeed in retaining possibilities of influence in the long run"* (p. 12).

In West Germany *Drascher* is not "anybody". As a permanent reviewer in the journal "Historische Zeitschrift" and in the publication "Das Historisch-Politische Buch" he has been one of the leading apologists of West German neo-colonialism for some time now. His latest neo-colonialist concoction was praised in "Das Historisch-Politische Buch" as *"the courageous deed of a responsible historian"* (Das Historisch-Politische Buch, 1960, No. 10, p. 292).[2]

1 A review on today's colonial power positions of West German imperialism is given by Paul Friedländer: German Neo-colonialism in Action, "World Marxist Review", 1960, No. 2, p. 48. ff.

2 Entrusted with this book review was a certain Gerhard Jacob, who – like Drascher himself – as a prominent propagandist of colonialism had a great part in the chauvinistic instigation of the German people before the Second World War. Some years ago, Jacob left the German Democratic Republic, after he had been made to realize that in this part of Germany there was no place for apologists of colonialism (cp. Gottfried Handel: Über die historische Einschätzung des Kolonialismus (The Role of Colonialism in History) "Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig", 1954/55, No. 3, p. 385 et seq.; Kurt Büttner: Die Ideologie

In the "Third Reich" the racist *Drascher* had a considerable part in poisoning the minds of the working masses and in ideologically preparing a war for the world domination of German imperialism. The tenor of all his statements then was: only Hitler Germany is in a position to enforce a real "racial policy" and to nip in the bud the increasing number of uprisings of the colonial peoples; consequently, she has to fight for colonies of her own. (cp. "Die Vorherrschaft . . .", pp. 375 et seq.)

To understand *Drascher's* present stand one only has to read how he glorifies the brutal colonial policy of the Belgian imperialists and of the fascist regime in the Union of South Africa (pp. 103 et seq., 192 et seq.). The whole cynicism of his misanthropic conception is evident, too, in his theory that future interracial relations should not be governed by the slogan "To everybody the same", but by "To everybody his due" (p. 314).

In compliance with this fascist maxim he slanders the oppressed peoples' struggle for full equality and against the still existing political and economic chains of imperialism as *"a deliberate discrimination of the entire white race"* (p. 311).

The hysterical fuss about a *"racial conflict unleashed by the coloured people"*, about *"anti-colonialists appealing to the dark instincts of race hatred"* is a disguised form of the old imperialist policy of defamation towards non-white people much in use today. This latest variant of neo-colonialist argumentation slanders the anti-colonial struggle of liberation waged against the dictatorship of capital as an "anti-white movement" and describes the colonialists – whose only concern are their profits – as martyrs persecuted because of the colour of their skin. With this lie, the insidious agitation in the new anti-imperialist states, the reign of terror in the fascist Republic of South Africa, the colonial war against the Algerian people, and other colonial crimes are supposed to be justified.

des Herrn Dr. Jacob — (The Ideology of Dr. Jacob), "Leipziger Volkszeitung", 9th Feb., 1958). In the state of West German militarism and neo-colonialism, however, the experience of this former propaganda speaker of the fascist Reichs Colonial League is evidently in great demand.

The racist *Drascher* tries his best to invent alleged contradictions between the Soviet Union on one hand and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the other. *"The Russians are white (today certainly to their regret)"* (p. 232), *Drascher* writes triumphantly whereas in 1936 – in accordance with *Spengler* – he claimed that the Russians "mentally" did not belong to the white race ("Die Vorherrschaft . . .", pp. 275, 358). The chief aim of this self-correction in 1960 – in the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism – is to interpret the extremely widened antagonistic contradictions between the imperialist powers and the anti-colonial liberation movement as racial antagonisms. The reader is to get the impression that the socialist states of Europe might not be interested in the final victory of the colonial peoples.

But 44 years of Soviet home and foreign policy offer the irrefutable proof that the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party is engaged in a consistent fight for full freedom and equality of all races and nations. *N. S. Krushchov said:*

> *"The aspirations of the peoples now smashing the fetters of colonialism are particularly appreciated and understood best of all by the working people of the Socialist countries, by the Communists of the whole world. Our world outlook, the interests of all working people for which we are fighting, impel us to do our best to ensure that the peoples take the right road to progress, to the flowering of their material and spiritual forces".* (*N. S. Khrushchov:* New Victories for the World Communist Movement, "World Marxist Review", 1961, No. 1, p. 20)

The colonialists thus have no chance to interfere in the affairs of the European Socialist countries and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in order to split the front of the anti-imperialist forces.

Therefore, they are doing their utmost to shake the union between the world communist movement and the national liberation movement with the aid of other methods, all of which are, no doubt, anti-communist. *Drascher* feels competent to censure the

distinguished Indian politician *Panikkar* for not recognizing the dangers *"arising to the national movements from communism"* (p. 289). In his anti-communist tirades *Drascher* has the audacity to claim: *"Without any doubt the West would be prepared to grant even more concessions, unless they had to fear that not the natives, but the communists would take over their positions . . ."* (p. 220). In fact, however, the success of the national liberation movement depends to a great extent upon the achievements of the socialist camp. Without the heroic and devoted struggle of the colonial peoples, which is supported by the mighty World Communist Movement, no concessions at all could be expected from the imperialists.

The Moscow Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties says:

> *"The forces of world socialism contributed decisively to the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for liberation from imperialist oppression. The socialist system has become a reliable shield for the independent national development of the peoples who have won freedom. The national liberation movement receives powerful support from the international working-class movement"*. (Statement by the Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties on the occasion of their Moscow meeting in November, 1960, "World Marxist Review", 1960, No. 12, p. 15.)

Still in 1936, the fascist colonial propagandist *Drascher* wrote that the "Occident" must not yield one step in the defence of their colonies. Under *Hitler's* leadership, he stressed, a *"well armed and race-conscious Germany"* would keep the *"supremacy of the white race"* against the *"inroad of the coloured people"*:

> *"Let the Anglo-Saxons make compromises and let them slacken the bridle: we are fully aware of the responsibility we have towards all white men"* ("Die Vorherrschaft . . .", p. 375).

These comments reveal the essence of that far-reaching readiness to compromise which *Drascher* is today campaigning for: It is only the consistent common struggle of the entire anti-imperialist camp, which forces the colonialists to give up one position after the other.

The drastic changes which have taken place in the international balance of forces are reflected in *Drascher's* numerous pleas for "partnership", for a "mutual understanding", for a cultural and economic "development aid". But behind all such phrases there are the same colonialist principles. Several times *Drascher* rejects an *"overstressing of the industrial sector"* in the former colonies, which means that he wants to deprive the young national states of the possibility to free themselves from the economic bonds of imperialism. The reason why *Drascher*, as the mouthpiece of the West German finance capital, is so strictly against an *"overstressed industrialization"* in Asia, Africa and Latin America was given by himself in great details in 1936; he then called it a madness to allow the "coloured people" to get acquainted with technology, because thus the foundations of colonial domination would be undermined ("Die Vorherrschaft . . .", p. 254 f.).

Today as before *Drascher* is serving the monopolies in their greed for extra profits.

But *Drascher* and his fellow propagandists have a far more difficult job today than they had in the "Third Reich". One of the chief reasons for this circumstance is the existence of the German Democratic Republic. While before the Second World War the patriotic forces of the German people – under the leadership of the Communist Party – could only warn against the war-bound colonial policy of fascist German imperialism from underground, today the national struggle against West German neo-colonialism has a firm basis in the German Democratic Republic; for the first state of peace in German history is following *"the tradition of the German working class, of those German humanists, who have always despised and fought colonial oppression and exploitation, who have always stood up for the sacred right of the colonial peoples to freedom, human dignity, and a happy life as an independent nation"*.[3]

Horst Kühne

3 Walter Ulbricht: Statement to the Diplomatic Corps on the Principles of G.D.R. Foreign Policy, "Neues Deutschland", 27th September, 1960.

DOCUMENTS

Statement issued by the Committee for Solidarity with the African Peoples of June 23, 1961

In June 1961 a conference was held at Strassbourg which was attended by parliamentarians from the following African states who had come on the invitation of the so-called West European Parliament: Dahomey, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Cameroun, Congo (Leopoldville), Congo (Brazzaville), Madagascar, Mali, Mauretania, Nigeria, Upper Volta, Senegal, Somalia, Togo, Chad and the Central African Republic.

The object of this conference was to prepare the association of these African states with the Common Market.

At a conference, held in Berlin and convened by the Committee for Solidarity with the African Peoples, prominent personalities from the G.D.R. and several African representatives discussed problems of the Strassbourg conference and unanimously passed the following resolution:

In the name of the people of the German Democratic Republic we – representatives of all political parties and associations, workers, farmers, scientists and artists united in the National Front of Democratic Germany – call upon our people and the African peoples to warn them against new plots of the German militarists and imperialists.

The ruling circles in Bonn have not learned anything from our people's past and are once more – this time side by side with the U.S. imperialists – striving for world domination. Their provocations and war-mongering activities in Europe and their exploitation of the peoples overseas are not only intended to make extra profits but to strengthen the German monopolists' leading position in the Common Market and among the European partners of the aggressive N.A.T.O. pact.

This also underlines their belligerent intentions against the G.D.R. and the whole socialist camp. All this is utterly opposed to the interests of the German people. Their existence is endangered by this policy and their reputation again ruined throughout the world.

■

West German imperialism, with the aid of the Western Powers and encouraged by the absence of a peace treaty with Germany, has been able to strengthen its position to such an extent that it has grown, second to the U.S., into the most dangerous neo-colonialist exploiter. Bonn supports France's bloody wars against the peoples of Algeria and Cameroun, by supplying mercenaries, arms and funds. The West German Government plays a decisive part in the imperialist plot against the freedom, independence and unity of the Congo. The German imperialists support Portugal's massacre of the Angolese people who are fighting for their independence. Bonn ministers have declared their solidarity with the criminal apartheid policy in South Africa. The widespread campaign in West Germany instigating hatred against the African peoples is designed to furnish the German people with an ideological justification for colonial exploitation and is a part of psychological warfare.

West Germany is trying – under cover of the so-called development aid –, to force the newly independent African states into dependency on German monopoly capital. The last indication of this was the active role played by West German politicians and industrialists in convening and carrying through the Strassbourg conference of representatives from the Common Market countries and Parliamentarians from sixteen African national states.

What are the issues at Strassbourg?

Under the leadership of the West German monopolies the Common Market countries are again trying to chain the former colonies of the member states to the metropolitan countries. The West German imperialists want to get hold of more favourable positions for their expansion in the independent African states and participate in the exploitation of these countries to the same extent, and if possible even more than the former colonial powers. The West German Government is trying to make the representatives of the new African states believe that if they join the Common Market "full independence and sovereignty" of the African states would be observed. Characteristic, however, is the proposal for the sixteen African countries to have only six representatives in the Council, as compared with nine from the six European partners. In addition it must be pointed out that an association between the new and economically still weak states and the West European monopoly capitalist powers in an imperialist economic bloc would inevitably render the "associated" African states economically dependent on West European monopoly capital. Even the conclusion of an association treaty between the Common Market and a so-called African Economic Community in consideration, which furthermore would consist merely of a few of the national states, would not make any difference.

The West German imperialists with their association plans also pursue the aim of tying the African states politically to the imperialist camp in order to prevent them from pursuing an independent foreign policy aimed at peace, neutrality, and termination of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation, and to include them into their aggressive plans against the socialist camp. This, however, might involve the African states in the adventurous policy of West German militarism and draw them into a nuclear war unleashed by these forces. This menace emerging from West German imperialism threatens safety and existence of all nations including the African peoples.

That is why all nations must further combine their efforts in the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism and take measures for taming the most aggressive forces, especially the West German ones. This is also the aim of a peace treaty with both German states as demanded by the governments of the U.S.S.R., the G.D.R. and the other socialist countries, the early conclusion of which would also be in the interest of the African peoples.

We call upon all Germans. Our people wants to live in peace and friendship with all nations in the world. It is not through violence against other countries, nor race hatred against other peoples nor exploitation of distant continents that we seek happiness and prestige in the world. Only peaceful work and scientific achievements will win us confidence and friendship. This, however, is being prevented by the militarist rulers in West Germany. That is why we must put an end to their policy of threats, armament and colonial exploitation. The peace treaty with Germany is an important step in this struggle.

Ban the militarists!

We want a peace treaty!

Berlin, June 23, 1961

(From: "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" No. 8, 1961)

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